Daily Report

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NOTICE TO READERS: As of 2 January 1991, television sourcelines in the DAILY REPORT will reflect how a station identifies itself. In most cases, this change eliminates the "Television Service" designation in favor of the station identification as broadcast. The presence of a new television sourceline reflects this change in policy, rather than the establishment of a new station or network.

NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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First Postwar Christmas Mass Held; Tanks Seen

AU2612080390 Paris AFP in English 2303 GMT 25 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 25 (AFP)—Some 10,000 Albanian Catholics on Tuesday [25 December] attended the first open celebration of midnight Christmas mass in their country in 45 years, Yugoslav television said.

TV showed pictures of Father Simon Jubani, who has spent 26 of his 63 years in prison, leading the service in the northern town of Shkoder in front of a huge crowd, many of whom were carrying candles. The service comes less than two months since the Communist government, which has been seeking to open Albania to the outside world and to democracy, allowed places of worship to reopen after a shut-down orded by the authorities in 1967.

Four days after that announcement, Father Jubani was able to celebrate his first pubic mass, before 5,000 people. He later explained that he had recited the service from memory, his Bible having been confiscated in 1967.

Yugoslav television said that Army tanks and police were out in force in Shkoder during Tuesday's service.

SFRY Newspaper Reports on Democratic Party

AU2412180090 Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 21 Dec 90 pp 1,6

[Mahi Nesimi report: "Democratic Party Legalized"]

[Excerpt] Tirana, 20 Dec—Democratic processes in communism's last bastion, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, are proceeding at a pace which surprises even the leaders of the opposition parties that are appearing on the country's pluralist stage. Presently, only the Democratic Party has emerged, gathering a large number of the intelligentsia, including people from science and culture, university professors, writers, artists, journalists, etc.

Other parties are still in an embryonic stage, because it is known that their activities were forbidden. We say "were," because the Decree on the Creation of Political Organizations and Associations was approved on 17 December. According to this decree, only Albanian citizens resident in Albania may form political organizations, political parties cannot in any way be financed by organizations or individuals not residing in Albania, etc.

This decree, approved by the Ministry of Justice, was published in the country's press yesterday, and provided opposition representatives with an adequate reason to hold their first news conference.

For many reasons, however, the first public meeting of opposition representatives and the Initiating Council of the Democratic Party in no way resembled a news conference. In fact, it was evident at the meeting that the organizers' aim was not to inform the public about the party's program, but to discuss the foundation of the party's newspaper, thanks to the presence of some foreign journalists in the Hall of Culture of the student center. Something was also said about the party's program.

Prec Zogaj, a writer, opened and chaired the conference, while members of the party's Initiating Council—Dr. Sali Berisha, the well-known Albanian cardiologist; university professor Gramoz Pashko; writer Neshat Tozaj (who said he is still a member of the Albanian Workers Party); student leader Azem Hajdari; painter Rexhep Alia, etc.—spoke about the current political situation in Albania, the foundation and running of the newspaper, and what the press and other media in Albania have stood for to date. The speech of an 82-year-old professor was listened to with great pleasure and respect. He spoke with emotion and tears in his eyes about Albania throughout his time. He remembered the time when he contributed personally to the formation of Noli's democratic government [1924], its fall, and Zog's subsequent anti-people regime. He said that he had never been a communist; he had helped and worked for the communist movement but had disagreed with many acts of the state since 1944 and had experienced all the traumas of the people during the last 45 years.

Other speakers pointed out that the ministry's decree on the creation of political parties and their freedom to have their organs (newspapers) with the sole restriction that they should not be financed from abroad is in many ways explosive; the possibility of their exploding, or, put rather differently, entering the game, must be considered. [sentence as published]

The contributions of Sali Berisha and Gramoz Pashko, however, gave a special tone and color to the meeting. They spoke about the different threats and persecutions which members and sympathizers of the Democratic Party are being subjected to by the organs of the state, such as dismissals from work, different forms of maltreatment at work and elsewhere, and so forth. At the same time, they stated that many of their activists are reporting that, in the imprisonments and trials in certain cities of the country (Shkoder, Durres, Elbasan) young boys are being sentenced to between 10 and 15 years' imprisonment; they are being mistreated, and their basic rights to defense are not being respected because they do not have lawyers, etc.

Sali Berisha placed particular emphasis on the activities of the state bureaucracy, quoting the vilification of the well-known Albanian writer Ismail Kadare, who sought political asylum in France about two months ago. He called on the journalists of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to make their vital contribution to the democratization of political life. He appealed to journalists, saying that if they are unable to publish the various reports they possess and will possess, they should place them at the disposal of members of the Democratic Party.

At the suggestion and with the support of journalists, the decision was made at the meeting to found a party paper entitled RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE [Democratic Rebirth]. The paper will be published twice a week at first. The sources of its financing were also discussed at length. It was proposed that Ismail Kadare should write the first article for the first issue. Now that the opposition is organized and working with great determination, we also have the impression that the state is prepared and is also responding very fast to democratize political life. This impression arises from the fact that the opposition leaders themselves perhaps did not know that the decision to register the Democratic Party was made at the very moment when the conference was being held. While the painter Rexhep Alia was speaking into the microphone about his own views on life in Albania and the limitations to freedom of expression, the conference's chairman Prec Zogaj informed those present that the news about legalizing and registering the Democratic Party had arrived. At that moment, shouts arose from every corner of the hall: "Freedom, freedom," "Democracy, democracy," "Long live the Albanian people," "Here, too, as in the whole of Europe," etc. From this moment, it was impossible to continue the conference, because everyone embraced each other and shed tears of joy. Everyone present was affected by this moment, and there was no one who did not fall into his neighbor's arms. It was an indescribable event, and no words can describe its joy. After a while, the microphone was again given to the 82-year-old professor, who now rose to his feet. (In his first speech, he had asked to be excused from standing up, because he was tired.) He begged those present to remain calm and to act in a spirit of generosity, nourishing no hatred against those who have committed acts of injustice. Let this be a moment of national conciliation, he said. The vendetta is the greatest evil which has pursued us, the professor continued, and we will not engage in it. Let us put an end to this evil! We have an example for this in the behavior of brothers from Kosovo, he concluded. We conclude from the tone of the professor's speech that he was referring to any revenge which might be taken against persons who have long served in state organs which have committed many injustices against people.

The members of the Initiating Council of the Democratic Party, which is not called Albanian, because, as Sali Berisha said, it is also open to members of other nationalities, then asked those present to terminate the conference because the council had to meet urgently to discuss the party's further work. Thus, with a rendering of the national anthem, the first conference of an opposition party in Albania concluded, at which it was said that it represents an opposition of views, not of personalities. [passage omitted]

Assembly Presidium Refuses To Postpone Elections

AU2512201490 Tirana ATA in English 0903 GMT 25 Dec 90

[Text] Tirana, December 25 (ATA)—The secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Sihat Tozaj, received the representative of the Democratic Party, concerning the official request the initiating commission of this party forwarded on December 24 to postpone the elections to the People's Assembly fixed on February 10, 1991.

On behalf of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Sihat Tozaj told him:

1. There is no objective reason to justify the postponing of elections. All the norms of the law "On the Elections to the People's Assembly," the procedures adopted by it are strictly observed. So far we have received no complaint.

2. The postponement of elections would require the conduct of a complicated legal procedure, something that may lead to unforeseen constitutional situations .

3. There are 40 days from today (December 24) to February 10. According to the law "On the Elections to the People's Assembly," the candidates should be registered no later than 15 days prior to the day of elections. Therefore the time at their disposal is enough to do such a thing. As far as we know no party or organization has launched the electoral campaign so far. In this way all the subjects that will take part in the elections are effectively on equal conditions.

4. The elections should be conducted on February 10, 1991 because the new Assembly must endorse as soon as possible the new constitution, so as to remove some legal hindrances to build the juridical state. So we have to solve the question of receiving credits and economic and financial cooperation with the world, which so far has marked the time, to legalize the question of exercising religious faith and attitude towards different cults. Constitutional possibilities must be created so that our legislation adapt itself to the world standards particularly regarding the human rights and freedoms.

5. No electoral subject besides the Democratic Party has required the postponement of elections. Were we to practise the logic of postponing the elections after the formation of every new organization, then they would never be conducted, because no one knows when and how many other subjects may be created.

6. The meeting was also attended by Prof. Rexhep Mejdani, chairman of the Central Commission of Elections to the People's Assembly.

Democratic Front Approves Electoral Program

AU2512214090 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2100 GMT 25 Dec 90

[Text] The General Council of the Albanian Democratic Front met in one of the halls of the National History Museum in the capital yesterday, and discussed the draft program presented by the commission appointed by the council in connection with the campaign for the election of deputies to the People's Assembly.

Comments and suggestions were made about the program. The program was approved unanimously by the General Council of the Albanian Democratic Front. The program stresses that the main aim of the Albanian Democratic Front as an independent political and electoral subject is and will be to ensure and strengthen national unity as the fundamental guarantee of the defense of freedom, independence, and sovereignty. It remains true to its fundamental aims, as when it was created on the initiative of the Communist Party led by Comrade Enver Hoxha, for the union of the people regardless of religion, region, or convictions. The Democratic Front is open to the entire people and to parties, organizations and associations whose programs aim at protecting the high interests of the homeland and further democratizing the country's life.

Comrade Adil Carcani, chairman of the General Council of the Albanian Democratic Front, also spoke at the meeting, and pointed out, among the other things, the importance of the campaign, stressing the need for the Albanian people to go to the polls in unity and to vote for their best sons and daughters.

Writers Union Holds Meeting in Tirana 24 Dec

Union Not To Stand as 'Electoral Subject'

AU2512201790 Tirana ATA in English 0926 GMT 25 Dec 90

[Text] Tirana, December 25 (ATA)—The plenum of the Writers' and Artists' League of Albania convened in Tirana on December 24 before noon. It discussed about the report submitted on behalf of the Presidency of the League, by its chairman, Dritero Agolli, about the participation in the elections for deputies to the People's Assembly as an independent electoral subject and the presentation of the candidates.

The report laid the stress on the mission of the writer to reflect the aspirations of the people and especially the actual processes of the democratization of the whole life of our country. The processes of the democratization of the country call for a tolerant and cultured dialogue, without grudges and excesses which break the unity of the people to fulfill their aspirations for progress and for all national interests. Literature and art, the report said,will inspire feelings based on the sound road, the lofty spirit of citizenship, the contemporary concepts of patriotism, counterposing to anarchy and populist demagogy which camouflages the fight for personal posts.

Some creators demanded in their contributions that the Writers' and Artists' League be not an independent electoral subject, because as they claimed it is incumbent upon the political parties to forward candidatures for the next elections to the People's Assembly. This does not prevent the writers and artists from forwarding the candidates for deputies from the political parties they belong to or as independent candidates. The plenum stressed that the writers and artists powerfully backed up the positive democratic reforms taking place in our country. They dwelt on the tasks emerging for the creation of decent works.

Having decided that the Writers' and Artists' League be not an independent electoral political subject, the plenum discussed about the reformation of the Writers' and Artists' League, being divided in four sections according to the branches.

'Reorganization' Demanded

AU2412201990 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1500 GMT 24 Dec 90

[Text] A meeting of the Electoral Council of the Albanian Writers and Artists Union was held at 0900 this morning in the hall of the Writers and Artists. The meeting was addressed by Dritero Agolli, chairman of the Writers and Artists Union, who presented [words indistinct] the lists of candidates [words indistinct].

The floor was then taken by the writer [name indistinct], who spoke about the greater role the Writers and Artists Union should in general play in the new processes of the democratization of the country's life, [words indistinct], and the conscience of the nation. The meeting took place in an atmosphere and constructive and democratic debate on many vital problems of literature and art, on the relations between politics and literary and artistic creativity at our current stage, etc. The way of organizing the elections and the position to be adopted by the Writers and Artists Union in the electoral campaign assumed an important place in the debate. Dritero Agolli, chairman of the Writers and Artists Union, took the floor at the end of the meeting, and said—bearing in mind the demands of the members [words indistinct] and in their name—various demands have been voiced for the reorganization of the Albanian Writers and Artists Union, for the Writers and Artists Union not to be a political and electoral body, and for the date of the elections for deputies to the People's Assembly to be postponed in accordance with the new conditions (?for political association), etc.

Women's Union To Seek Legal Protection of Rights

AU2412195890 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1500 GMT 24 Dec 90

[Monitored in progress]

[Text] Lumturi Rexha, president of the Albanian Women's Union, presented the program. The program states that the Women's Union, in the new political stage through which our country is passing, will make efforts to respond to the demands of the times, including in its ranks women of all categories and strata, regardless of their political convictions, ideas, and beliefs. The organization supports the democratic processes taking place in our country and will aim to make them continual and irreversible.

The basic aims of this organization will be, among other things, to contribute to a solution of the major problems of society, placing in the foreground the issue of the people's unity and the position of women with their age-old [words indistinct] freedom-loving traditions. [Words indistinct] other demands of women to assume the place that belongs to them in society, to struggle for the protection of the basic freedoms and rights as recognized by law, and to increase the organization's cooperation with other organizations and associations of Albanian women throughout the world.

This program mentions, among other things, the specific aims of this organization: to seek from the state organs improvements in the legislation for working women, [words indistinct], and their release from the third shift. A law will be sought on the right of families to decide their own development, which will create opportunities for the use of the necessary means of birth control.

The members of the General Council of the Women's Union discussed and made comments and suggestions, giving their views on the electoral program.

The General Council of the Albanian Women's Union decided that the next women's congress will be held next year.

General Council Meets 24 Dec

AU2512201590 Tirana ATA in English 0915 GMT 25 Dec 90

[Text] Tirana, December 25 (ATA)—The expanded General Council of the WUA [Albanian Women's Union] convened on December 24 in the capital. It discussed on the political situation at home and the tasks this organisation is faced with for the electoral campaign of the deputies to the People's Assembly.

The president of the General Council of the WUA, Lumturi Rexha delivered the speech on these problems.

The council unanimously backed the Party of Labour of Albania and Comrade Ramiz Alia as initiators of the democratic processes in our country and fully solidarized with them. As women and mothers, they denounced the vandal acts committed in some cities as Shkoder, Elbasan, Durres by dark forces which do not want the progress of our country along the democratic road.

In the meeting they said that the WUA, being an independent sociopolitical organisation and electoral subject, founded by the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, is follower of its best traditions, of the Antifascist National Liberation War, of the socialist values created by the toil and sweat of the Albanian people and women in the country's construction over the years of the people's power. Gathering in its fold women of various categories, without distinction of political convictions, idea or belief, it will further strengthen the unity of the whole society as an important factor of stability and progress, will strive to strengthen the sound and firm convictions, to maintain and consolidate the independence, freedom and sovereignty of the homeland, to defend the legitimate rights of the Albanian nation. The Women's Union will as well further expand the relations of friendship and cooperation with the women's progressive organisations in the Balkans, Europe, and the world.

The council approved the electoral program of the WUA for the electoral campaign of the deputies to the People's Assembly. Likewise the council decided that the 11th congress of the WUA be convened in the coming year.

Malile Returns From Latin American Tour 20 Dec

AU2012224790 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 20 Dec 90

[Text] Foreign Affairs Minister Comrade Reis Malile returned home today after official and friendly visits to Cuba, Mexico, and Argentina. He was welcomed at Rinas Airport by Education Minister Skender Gjinushi; Sofokli Lazri, director of the Institute for the Study of International Relations, and Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Sokrat Plaka. Julio Cancio, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Cuba in Tirana, was also present.

Shevardnadze Resignation Proof of 'Grave Crisis'

AU2512150990 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 21/22 Dec 90 p 1

[Bogdan Ivanov article: "The Glorious Five Disintegrated"]

[Text] Does the revolution really devour its children? Nikolay Ryzhkov read his farewell speech at the Congress of People's Deputies and admitted that restructuring failed. Still shocked by the terrible truth revealed by the Soviet prime minister, the deputies were astounded by the revelation of Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze: "A military dictatorship is approaching! The democrats escaped, and the reformers are running for cover!" Afterward, in one his most pessimistic speeches he explained his position: The extraordinary prerogatives requested by President Gorbachev, will concentrate in his hands more power than...Stalin had! From there it is only one step to dictatorship. Granting such extraordinary prerogatives would eliminate the elected legislative organs and would predetermine the fate of restructuring....

The congress was ready to vote for the president's request. However, Shevardnadze's resignation at just that moment came like thunder from a clear sky. He sacrificed his political career and exceptional position in the leadership to shock the participants and prevent the crash as long as the train of hope is still travelling.

A friend of Gorbachev's, a honest and bold politician, who earned the respect and admiration of the strictest opponents of the Soviet ideology in the West, and a brilliant world ambassador of the new political thinking, Eduard Shevardnadze was one the glorious five reformers—Gorbachev, Yakovlev, Yeltsin, Ryzhkov, and himself. It would be wrong to see the first cracks in the image of the new political thinking in Shevardnadze's resignation. The concessions to the conservatives became earlier: The removal of Yeltsin, the condemnation of his different manner of thinking, the hesitant support of the radicals, the endlessly timid steps in the internal reforms, and the retreat of Yakovlev from the center of the political scene were all parts of the attack of the old party guard that hinted of the overt danger of a new dictatorship.

Shevardnadze's resignation is a proof of the grave crisis in the USSR and the spasms of democracy. It is not by accident that the West speaks of a shock in the Kremlin and about a dark cloud over the world processes of reconciliation and cooperation. Yet, a door was left slightly open—perhaps this was a brilliant script by Gorbachev, at the end of which Shevardnadze will become vice president.

One way or another, Gorbachev's team gradually disintegrated. Only the president remained of the glorious five. He stands alone against the nomenklatura, the economic destruction, and hunger. Perhaps those seers who predict that 1990 [as published] will be a critical year for him, are right....

President Zhelev Supports New Cabinet

AU2412172790 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 22 Dec 90 p 1

[Vasil Popov report: "President Zhelev Will Also Support This Government"]

[Text] The president always stated that he would support any government that would begin economic reforms in the country. This was stated by Valentin Stoyanov, spokesman for the president, at the 21 December regular briefing.

He pointed out that last week the president conducted more than 10 consultations with representatives of the political forces about forming the new cabinet. According to Dr. Zhelev, a balanced and reasonable compromise, which satisfies all sides, has been reached.

Teodor Tsvetkov, leader of the Foreign Aid Agency at the Presidency, reported during the briefing that the Romania citizens who sold blankets marked with the Bulgarian Red Cross at the black market in Ruse have been arrested. These blankets were to have been sent to Romania as relief last year.

Citing this example, he appealed to the mass media to assist the agency's activities, especially in anything related to preventing the transfer of foreign aid to private profiteers. Mr. Tsvetkov did not answer the question about why the employees and broad international relations of Bulgaria's charity organizations are not being utilized.

Christmas Holiday Celebrated 'in Misery'

AU2412190090 Sofia BTA in English 1753 GMT 24 Dec 90

["Although in Misery Bulgaria is Celebrating Christmas"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 24 (BTA)—For the first time in almost half a century Bulgaria is celebrating Christmas as a public holiday.

In fact it has never been officially prohibited but the totalitarian communist regime looked askance at people who observed the tradition of celebrating Christmas. There were periods of deterioration when religious people were persecuted and punished. During the last 20 years the police used to surround the big temples in Sofia on Christmas and Easter and let only old people in.

After the changes which started 13 months ago Christmas and Easter were proclaimed public holidays by a special decree. The same decree removed November 7, the Day of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, from the list of public holidays.

Tonight the great mass in the imposing St. Aleksandur Nevski Temple in the Center of Sofia was attended by President Zhelyu Zhelev, Prime Minister Dimitur Popov, members of the cabinet and MP's.

For the first time the mass was broadcast directly by the Bulgarian TV.

For the first time since television exists in the country there will be direct broadcasts from Rome tonight and tomorrow.

The shops in the country are more empty than they have ever been in the last 50 years and people are making tremendous efforts to provide some food for the table which can hardly be called festive. Meat and wine can only be found on the private market in Sofia and in the other towns at prices four to five times higher than the existing state-controlled prices. Thousands of people spent eight to ten hours waiting to buy rationed gasoline to be able to go to the country and buy provisions for the holidays at sky-rocketing prices.

Nevertheless, the festive mood is everywhere in the country ruined by the 45 years of communist rule.

Tonight the daily of the Labor Confederation "Podkrepa" is arranging a happening downtown during which the former mausoleum of the one-time leader of the Communist Party Georgi Dimitrov will be packed up. Tomorrow there will be festivities and concerts everywhere, most of them organized by opposition parties and organizations. Most newspapers, the radio and the television give a lot of space for Christmas publications. Some theaters prepared special Christmas shows and the American film "Jesus" was a great success.

The Foreign Services Department at the Bulgarian News Agency wishes Merry Christmas to all our colleagues!

Peace, health and happiness to everybody!

Merry Christmas!

Solution to Nationwide Food Shortage Discussed

AU2612092090 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 20 Dec 90 p 1

[Ekaterina Popova article: "Nationwide Rationing System Is No Solution for the Crisis, According to Deputies From the Social Commission"]

[Excerpt] The Parliamentary Commission on Labor and Social Welfare has not yet submitted its official stand on the question of the food supply crisis in Sofia and the relevant proposals submitted by the City People's Council, of the Ministry of Domestic Trade and Services, and the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry. At the 19 December session of the commission the letter of the aforementioned institutions was discussed and evoked a sharp debate that is expected to be pursued in upcoming days in joint talks with three other commissions and with the participation of the document's authors who are specialists from the provisional Sofia local authorities and from the two aforementioned ministries. This is also required by the fact that the letter has not been signed by the minister of food and food industry, and that the minister of trade and services also has dissociated himself from the letter.

At the 19 December talks the opinion prevailed that solving the existing problems is the prerogative of the executive power. In addition, according to the deputies, the proposals included in the letter have not been fully clarified and supported with specific dates, and the minimum-existence concept has not been clarified. [passage omitted]

Political Hunger Strike in Kurdzhali Ends

AU2412164290 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 22 Dec 90 p 2

[Radka Petrova report]

[Text] Kurdzhali, 21 December—We do not believe you, Dr. Zhelev, and are not satisfied with your strange apology. You again proved that you are alien to feelings and emotions of a large part of the Bulgarian people. Please accept our decision to interrupt our relay protest hunger strike as proof of our goodwill and concern for Bulgaria's fate at a moment when finally a government of hope and peaceful transition toward democracy was formed, the open letter of Kurdzhali's socialists to the president of the Republic reads.

The letter expresses concern with the fact that in several cases the Bulgarian citizens incorrectly interpreted the president's words, and cites several specific examples of the president's statements and speeches. The people should understand their president, rather than wait until the president's office explains what the president meant, the letter reads.

Army Daily Ridicules Recent Zhivkov Interviews

AU2512174090 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 20 Dec 90 p 1

[Captain Spirdon Spirdonov article: "Todor Zhivkov in Parliament?"]

[Text] I will not be surprised if someone redeems the guilt of the person who was our leader for several decades. According to a BTA announcement, Zhivkov has been accused of inflicting damage worth several tens of millions on leva to the state.... Now that the amount has been precisely set, it only remains to see the defendant on one of the television live relays from the parliament. Why should the world mass media have priority and be the first to broadcast his voice? Should the Bulgarian people again lag behind? After listening to Zhivkov daily for decades, is it not appropriate to hear from Zhivkov's very mouth when he decided that

socialism has no future? I suppose that this is appropriate, but for something like this certain ethics are required.

Ethics is what the members of the parliament need to return this issue to their agenda. However, this time, this should be done in a civilized manner. First—they must respect the right of the people to hear the last word of their former leader before the trial begins. Second, perhaps then the Grand National Assembly will finally be united, rather than divided into political forces. At least this should be done because when Zhivkov used to determine our fate, a biparty system was far from being political pluralism.

Without proper ethics perhaps we will not be able to understand our former leader. I am almost positive that we will not hear what used to be stuffed for years into our heads. However, the memories will hardly prompt us to unanimously support his credo. Furthermore, what could prevent this is the fact that as a shrewd politician Zhivkov has certainly adopted the future intentions of both the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and the Union of Democratic Forces. Could this be true? Perhaps. After all, how many of us have heard this with our own ears?

Mr. Zhivkov also needs certain ethics, to ask the Bulgarian people to hear him. Furthermore, he should do it so that the people will agree to listen to him. We do not mean repentance, but rather the admission of a man. An admission made to all of us, who used to applaud him and today expect aid from those whom he defined as our historic enemies. An admission about the time from the moment I was born until last year, and perhaps even until today.

Perhaps the BSP priority program excludes such assumptions? Several months ago the deputies insulted each other when this issue was posed. However, since we have become experienced, it is plausible to assume that the dependent Zhivkov could become one of the participants in a future "Every Sunday" television program. Regardless of the different interpretations, I will applaud such a journalistic coup. However, the question is whether the people's representatives will allow the television to beat them in such a race....

BSP Council Disclaims Link With 'Edinstvo' TU

AU2512184690 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
19 Dec 90 pp 1,2

["Statement" by the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party; place and date not given]

[Text] The Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] once again confirms its invariable policy of noninterference in the activities of the trade union movement. The mutual relations between the BSP and the trade union organs and organizations at all levels are developing on the basis of respect for the trade unions' independence, dialogue, and seeking a formula acceptable to both sides for resolving the acute problems of the country's development at the moment.

Our understanding, to which we have always held, is that all issues that arise in the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB] are the confederation's own internal problem and that they should be resolved without outside interference. The BSP will continue in the future to seek to cooperate with all trade union organizations in protecting the legitimate interests of working people, showing respect for the liberty and independence of the trade unions.

We stand for constructive cooperation with the KNSB, to which a large number of Socialists also belong. As a modern party of the left, the BSP shares common interests with the KNSB—interests connected with the socialist protection of working people.

We have respect for the efforts of trade union officials and members to unite the trade unions. We sincerely desire that the independent trade unions in Bulgaria should be a free and democratic workers organization truly expressing their socioeconomic, labor, legal, ecological, and other interests.

Regarding the "Edinstvo" People's Trade Union, we declare that it has not been created at the initiative of the Supreme Party Council, as certain circles claim, but is the result of the independent initiative of individual trade union members. Under the contemporary conditions of pluralism and democracy, no one is entitled to restrict or prohibit people from uniting in trade union or other associations. The BSP, however, is in principle against forming trade unions on a political or ideological basis.

The Presidium of the Supreme Party Council makes an appeal to the BSP members, supporters, and sympathizers to work to consolidate the unity, independence, and democratization of the trade union movement. Now, in the conditions of an acute political polarization in Bulgaria, we need truly independent and democratic trade unions: trade unions independent of the current political scene and of the aims and actions of the political parties and movements; trade unions that are democratic, whose politics are defined and shaped solely by the will and interests of the majority of the workers.

We express our conviction that the Bulgarian trade union movement will overcome the problems that have arisen to fully assimilate and apply the values of true trade unionism on a lasting basis.

Chairman Lilov Says BSP Will Persevere

AU2412190390 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
22 Dec 90 p 2

[Vanyo Stoilov report: "According to Lilov BSP Will Persevere Only As Modern Political Force"]

[Text] Khaskovo, 21 December—Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] is convinced that Dimitur Popov's government must first be a government of action to become a government of hope.

He said this on 21 December at a meeting of Socialists, BSP supporters, and Khaskovo citizens, at which he analyzed the situation in the country and the party and handed the new membership cards to the reregistered BSP members.

Lilov hopes that the government is able to unite the nation and immediately begin the reforms. The political situation allows the parliament to work more intensively. Protecting the parliament is a prerequisite for preserving civic peace in the country.

The BSP leader demanded that the party change itself more rapidly, and that the culprits for the crisis are named. The party could persevere as a basic political force with modern rather than traditional policy. He predicted that by the end of January the number of BSP members who will reregister will be between 400,000 and 500,000.

The participants in the meeting paid tribute to the memory of the Bulgarian soldiers who perished near Momchilgrad.

Figures on BSP Members Reregistering in Sofia

AU2412122990 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 18 Dec 90 p 1

[Antoniya Mechkova report]

[Text] Up to mid-December, the Sofia City organization of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] has issued about 12,500 membership cards, and is preparing a further 12,000. After giving these two figures, Yuriy Stoimenov, deputy chairman of the Sofia City BSP Council, added that over 57,000 people have confirmed their intention to reregister as BSP members.

The largest numbers of membership books have been renewed with the Oborishte, Sredets, Triaditsa, Lozenets, and Mladost municipal party organizations.

Ognyan Surdolov, chairman of the Oborishte Municipal BSP Council, added the following information concerning the party cards issued in the municipality: 514 have been issued to Socialists in 23 clubs for various interests, while a further 23 clubs have still to submit their members' documents for reregistration. Of the total of 38 basic organizations in the districts, 1,622 members in 25 organizations have already exchanged their party books.

In Poduyane Municipality, 320 new party cards have been issued, and about 535 will be registered during the next few days. Socialists from a further 10 organizations have submitted their documents since last Friday (14 December). In this municipality, the reregistration follows "hard on the heels" of the restructuring of the basic organizations according to subsections of the electoral constituency.

Opposition Leaders Attend Sofia Celebration

AU2512182390 Sofia BTA in English 1743 GMT 25 Dec 90

["Thousands Attending a Public Prayer"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 25 (BTA)—Many thousands of citizens of Sofia gathered this evening in front of the National Gallery, the former Royal Palace in Sofia, to celebrate Christmas legally and freely for the first time.

The Christmas service was held by the priest Khristofor Subev, one of the leaders of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces [UDF].

The crowd added exclamations "UDF! UDF!" to the wish "Merry Christmas". The leaders of the united opposition—Filip Dimitrov, Stefan Savov and Lyuben Bozhilov—were greeted with wild applause.

Seems we have been praying with a different heart for a very long time, we believed we would never allow compromises, Mr. Subev said in his speech. He called himself the last of the Mohicans because "he had not been in the old nomenclature, and he didn't fix himself up in the new, either".

Forming Provisional Councils in Khaskovo Difficult

AU2412222190 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 22 Dec 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "The Law on Provisional Administrations Slips in Khaskovo Oblast"]

[Text] Khaskovo, 21 December—So far in 222 out of 651 mayorships in Khaskovo Oblast there is no agreement on appointing provisional administrations. The cities of Kurdzhali, Khaskovo, Kazanluk, and Pavel Banya have no provisional administrations.

In Khaskovo, for example, the representatives of the political forces met more than 20 times, however, the differences persist. The representatives of the united opposition did not recognize the decision of the Council of Ministers on forming a provisional municipal administration, which was adopted after the agreement of the political forces' contact groups in sofia, and left the Executive Committee. The situation in Kazanluk is similar. The picture in the villages is equally complex. There the law not only kindled political passions, but revived ancient family feuds.

Havel Discusses Presidential Powers, Shevardnadze

LD2312201690

[Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1315 GMT on 23 December broadcasts the 27-minute live or recorded "Conversation at Lany" program interview with President Vaclav Havel by editor Jiri Vejvoda in Prague.

Vejvoda begins the program by asking Havel how he plans to spend Christmas. Havel says he will disappear to a secret place out of Prague to enjoy his holiday.

Vejvoda then says: "You mentioned—and there is no doubt about it—that much work awaits you, as well as the entire country, in the new year. To be able to do this work you will probably need certain powers. This question has already been discussed for several days and we also mentioned it in our last conversations. Perhaps it deserves a bit more clarification."

Havel responds: Yes, it is a subject that continues to be discussed by politicians, deputies and the press, including the foreign press. It amuses me a bit as I follow it. I did not say what powers I would like to have and therefore I read various speculations as to what powers Havel is after.

"Perhaps I should be a bit more specific after all. Of course, it is not—as many people think—that I would like to strengthen my personal power or generally the president's executive power. The issue is a system of constitutional safeguards. The president is to play only the role of an instrument. In my view he has to be a sort of an instrument capable of playing the role of a go-between in certain crisis situations.

"The current Constitution—though it is not clear at first glance and we were not aware of it, I was not aware of it either—the entire Constitution is in fact constructed around Article 4 on the leading role of the [Communist] Party. Though it has numerous democratic ornaments, principally, it does not count in situations where various state organs come into conflict because it presumes that conflict situations will not occur because the party Politburo is of course going to decide everything. Not enough thought is given here to continuity in state functions.

"To be more specific, I think for example that if the government resigns or if it is given a vote of no confidence by the parliament, and if this happens two or three times in a row, then the president should have the right to appoint a so-called caretaker [urednicks vlada] cabinet, the parliament should be dissolved, and new elections called within a certain time limit. Nevertheless, the situation of resignation after resignation and repeated votes of no confidence and appointments of new governments could continue for maybe half a year or three-quarters of a year. And in fact this would stop executive power from functioning exactly when it would be so important. There is also a need to secure the continuity of the legislative process. Let us imagine a situation where the parliament fails to agree on something, which is quite normal and can happen because why should it reach an agreement on everything. Currently we have conciliation proceedings on the bill on strategic planning. In this context it is again logical for the president, cooperating in some way with the government, to have an option to issue laws, the validity of which would be, of course, temporary, limited to the period up to elections and until a new Federal Assembly is formed that would then change them then into permanent laws or would possibly abolish them.

"Nevertheless, the main point is that, paradoxically, all this was taken into account in our Constitution of the First Republic, and in fact these safeguards saved the republic during crisis only two or three years after its creation. This depends of course on the parliament, if it adopts proposals of this kind. The work on drafting them is going on intensively and they will be forwarded to deputies well enough in advance.

"Nevertheless, regardless of whether they adopt them or not, I would like to explain the considerations forcing me to do this. It is not a desire to hold more reins than I hold already and to be able to decide everything. It is not the strengthening of powers in the sense that I would like a president—currently me—to decide everything and have a say on everything. It is a logical role for a president in such crisis situations. It is nothing more than a part of the complex aimed at providing safeguards, though temporary ones, until a new constitution is adopted to fill large holes in our current Constitution which is still principally a communist one despite numerous constitutional laws and amendments. I do firmly believe everything will be solved reasonably in the new constitution thanks to study and the examples of numerous democratic constitutions. nevertheless, currently I perceive it as a rather important matter."

Vejvoda then says: "You just used the phrase president—currently me. People now are very much interested in politics and so a question reached me whether the powers you speak of are well conceived also for any president that succeeds you, a president of any political inclination and also of any character."

Havel answers: I am elected for the same two-year period the parliament is elected for. The parliament is the body that formulates our constitution and has to fulfill this role before the end of its two-year period. The new parliament will then elect, according to the new constitution, a new president who will have exactly those powers that the new constitution gives him. This means that whatever powers are going to be given to me as president today will be granted only during the period until the adoption of the new constitution. What the powers of our president will be in the future we do not know now. There is a wide variety of possibilities ranging from the presidential system—i.e. the system in which the president is elected through direct vote by the entire electorate as is the case in Poland now where he is

really a rather strong and powerful constitutional official—to a totally symbolical role where the president places wreaths at various monuments and receives ambassadors. We can learn from American, French, West German, Austrian, and other systems. It is simply a matter for the Federal Assembly what kind of a constitution it will adopt and how the future president will be defined in it."

Asked about the presidential office, Havel notes that during the communist regime this office was just a farce. Now the Chancellery has been transformed into a body playing a political role, in addition to a number of other tasks, but it is not a shadow cabinet. The budget approved for the Chancellery by the Federal Assembly probably will not be sufficient for necessary work to be carried out at the castle and therefore some help will be sought from abroad. The castle is rather a unique symbol of Czechoslovak statehood and in the course of history many foreigners participated in building it.

Vejvoda then asks Havel to comment on Shevardnadze's resignation.

Havel says: "So far I have not received a sufficiently thorough analysis of his resignation, I do not know the whole background and circumstances behind it. Nevertheless, I do consider it to be a very serious matter. I am not surprised that it has provoked so much attention throughout the world.

"Asked to comment on it in some way, I am able, at this point, to say only one thing: I feel sorry. Shevardnadze has really done a lot for world peace. After many decades he was again a minister of foreign affairs who was dynamic and open, who by holding this post actively changed many aspects of Soviet policy. I knew him of course from various talks and I am really sorry. I agree that his resignation is a warning signal. It is a serious matter."

Vejvoda points out that these are the last Conversations at Lany this year and Havel says that he will assess the events of this year on other occasions and goes on to speak about Christmas as a time of hope and thanks people for the work done so far. He goes on to stress that despite problems many things have been changed already and he appeals to his fellow citizens not to despair and to believe in the future. He apologizes for any wrongdoings he did to anyone and stresses that Christmas is the time of forgiving one another.

Havel concludes by asking his wife to speak on this occasion. Asked about her Committee of Goodwill, Mrs. Havel thanks people for the help offered to the committee and wishes a merry Christmas to all.

Havel joins in by wishing the listeners a merry Christmas and a happy new year.

Vejvoda concludes by saying that this is the last regular Sunday interview with President Havel to be broadcast this year but a surprise is promised for this time slot on next Sunday.

Rychetsky Specifies Havel's Request for Power

AU2512184090 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Dec 90 p 3

[Interview with CSFR Deputy Prime Minister Pavel Rychetsky by PRAVDA reporter Alena Ruzkova; in Prague, date not given: "Will the Gaps Be Filled?"]

[Text] [Ruzkova] Which powers of the president should be strengthened?

[Rychetsky] We assume that the extension of presidential powers should not exceed the framework of the 1920 constitution and the presidential powers that are customary in parliamentary democracies in Western Europe. The aim [of the extension of presidential powers proposed by President Havel in his speech to the Federal Assembly on 10 December] is to provide the president with powers which do not figure in the present Constitution and thereby fill existing gaps in the Constitution. This concerns, for example, the possibility for the president to dissolve the Federal Assembly when it becomes incapable of passing resolutions in the event of failed arbitration proceedings, i.e. when it ceases to be a body which passes laws. Furthermore, it concerns the possibility to call elections in a situation when the legislative body was unable to form a government, passed a motion of no-confidence in the existing government, or did not express confidence in a new government, i.e. in the event of failed efforts at the formation of a government. The president should in such cases have the possibility to appoint a caretaker government for a temporary period, dissolve the parliament, call new elections, and create a constitutional assembly that would be able to establish a government. It is necessary to fill a serious gap in our constitutional system, which provides neither for a state of emergency nor for a state of distress or any other extraordinary measures—not only in the event of an external threat to the security of the state, in the event of war, or military preparedness but also in the event of a serious threat to the internal security of the state or to compliance with the Constitution. There exists, for example, no possibility to use the Army to safeguard transportation, communication, and telecommunication links or supplies to the population. In other words, the provisions [instituty] being considered are standard provisions that are customary in all countries with the exception of our country.

Mohorita Reacts to Party Spokesman's Criticism

AU2412095790 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Dec 90 p 5

[Statement issued by Vasil Mohorita, chairman of Communist Club in the Federal Assembly, in reply to a

statement made by P. Vilhelm, Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia press spokesman; date and place not given]

[Text] I think that this is no coincidence. The author was not even familiar with the authentic transcript of my speech. The tone of his statement surprises me. It conjures up reminiscences of the time when I was told what I could say and what I could not say. As far as I am aware, our endeavor since the extraordinary Communist Party of Czechoslovakia congress was to make sure that every party member—no matter what post he occupied—could express his opinion whenever he wanted to in public. Unfortunately, today I am not only misinterpreted for holding such an opinion, I am—moreover—publicly derided. Therefore, I will relate exactly what I actually said:

"As far as the change of name is concerned, a change to our party's name is being very actively spoken about. The Communist Party of Slovakia has already taken specific steps. The Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia [KSCM], as far as I know, faces a referendum—which was discussed at the congress—on what the party should be called." By making this statement, I neither declared a referendum nor supplanted the KSCM Central Committee. Let your readers draw their own conclusions about the issues and the people currently in vogue in the Communist Party, stated V. Mohorita.

Socialist Party Focuses on Communal Policy

AU2412130890 Prague CTK in English 1548 GMT 20 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 20 (CTK)—Representatives of the four land organizations of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party Prague, Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, and Slovakia, want to contribute to the activity of the party, which is represented neither in the government nor in parliament, on the local level.

The transition of the party to the land principle started with congresses of the four land organizations earlier this year and will be accomplished at the 25th national congress of the party in January 1991.

The party is not represented in parliament and in the government because it failed to gain the necessary minimum of five percent in the June 1990 parliamentary elections, but did better in the November local elections. Thus far the party has won 70 mayoralties in towns and villages (elections of mayors have not been finished).

The Czechoslovak Socialist Party now has 22,000 members. Its main goals are assertion of democratic, humanitarian, and social principles and defense of the interests of the nations of Czechoslovakia.

One of the main goals of the Slovak organization is preservation of a single Czechoslovak state. (The Czechoslovak federation was threatened recently by disputes over power-sharing between federal and national republics' bodies.

Pithart on Meciar European Association Remarks

AU2412100290 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Dec 90 p 2

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart by Petr Vana in Prague on 18 December: "We Are Not on a Racetrack"—first paragraph is RUDE PRAVO introduction]

[Text] Prague (From our own reporter)—Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart aired his government's views on the Association of European Regions—of which the Slovak Republic has become a rank and file member—in a short interview for RUDE PRAVO on Tuesday [18 December].

[Vana] According to the Slovak prime minister, membership in the association opens up new opportunities for cooperation. He also added that the Slovak Republic has taken this step faster than the Czech Republic. Has the Czech Government been caught napping?

[Pithart] As far as this issue is concerned, I can state that we are not on a racetrack. Otherwise, I congratulate my Slovak colleagues on their acceptance into the association. The Czech Government—when the time comes and when we have more time at our disposal—will consider this opportunity. A Europe of regions is a concept we have always emphasized and we are in favor of it. The issue, however, is also whether the person who is competing is not mistaken in competing. We do not feel that we are on a racetrack in this matter.

[Vana] The opportunities are one issue, another is how to use them. The Czech Government has good contacts with neighboring Bavaria, with Austrian regions....

[Pithart] Of course. It is possible to say that there are absolutely realistic opportunities for us. Let me emphasize, however, one important thing again—we do not consider ourselves to be on a racetrack. If someone thinks that he was the first to break through the finishing tape, I can only congratulate him.

[Vana] Thank you for the interview.

Divergent Farming Policies Cause Complications

AU2412143690 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Dec 90 p 1

[Zdenek Hoffmann article: "Whose Ministry is Better?"]

[Excerpts] "Our ministry is better than yours," Slovak farmers told their Czech and Moravian colleagues at a recent statewide meeting of the Farmers' Cooperative Union (RDS). They based their claim on the data on

agricultural subsidies in the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic that had just been released. The Slovak Government approved 8.5 billion korunas in subsidies for its farmers while the Czech Government approved only 7.4 billion korunas, even though the volume of agricultural production in the Czech Republic is about twice as large as in the Slovak Republic! [passage omitted]

Moreover, the two republican ministries, the Czech and the Slovak, pushed through the division of the fund for covering the cost of guaranteed prices, which was originally to be a federal fund. This must inevitably lead to different procurement prices in the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. As Miroslav Adamec, deputy federal minister of economy, pointed out at the above RDS meeting, it seems that soon we will have custom houses at the Moravian-Slovak border.

Klaus Cited on Economic Prospects for 1991

AU2412100390 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Dec 90 p 2

["(VC)"-signed report: "Our Debt Will Increase"]

[Text] Prague (From our own reporter)—Next year the CSFR's balance of payments deficit should amount to $2.5-2.8 billion. Our indebtedness should increase from the current level of $7.8 billion to roughly $10.6 billion.

This statement was made on Tuesday [18 December] by Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus during a lecture on our 1991 financial policy delivered at Charles University Faculty of Social Sciences in Prague. It is apparent from what he said that the envisaged loan intended to increase our foreign currency reserves—necessary for the introduction of internal convertibility—is not included in this sum. V. Klaus stated that this involves a tolerable level of foreign indebtedness. The structure of repayments is also favorable for us; the most important sums will have to be repaid in 1994-1995.

Apropos the development of the economy next year, V. Klaus said that it would be a very considerable success if economic decline was no greater than five percent. The aim of our economic and financial policy will be to maintain the rate of inflation at around 30 percent and the number of unemployed at between 300,000 and 400,000 people.

Economic Committees Assess Budget Problems

AU2512215490 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 18 Dec 90, p 16

["(jop)"-signed report: "A Budget With Question Marks"]

[Text] No agreement has been reached in the Federal Assembly committees about including the Charter of Basic Rights and Freedoms in the agenda of the tenth joint meeting of both chambers of the Federal Assembly. Therefore, the debate about this document has been postponed until January— the most probable date is 8 January. It appears that the decision has also been made about President Vaclav Havel's proposal—the constitutional law on the referendum and on the constitutional court. Because of the lack of time and a great number of comments, including a counter-proposal made by deputies, these proposals will not be discussed in December.

Only procedural questions, the law on strategic planning, the closing account of the 1990 budget, 1991 budget of the federation, and interpellations remained on the agenda of the tenth joint meeting of the Federal Assembly chambers.

The economic committees discussed individual components of the federal budget yesterday. When discussing the budgetary items of the Federal Ministry of Economy, deputies learned from the proposer that only 3 billion korunas had been designated for the restructuring of the economy. Individual projects, up to 50 million korunas, will be subject to competitive bidding and experts review. Some 2 billion korunas for transportation in 1991 will be designated to start [restructuring] programs. Financial means for improving the environment are not included in the federal budget—therefore, it will be difficult to fulfill the tasks that we have according to international agreements. The completion of the construction of the nuclear power plants in Temelin and Mochovce would require more than 30 billion korunas, which is out of the question today. The "commercialization" of this branch appears to be one of the solutions, but this would mean paying installments in the form of energy exports. Finally, deputies adopted a resolution in which they noted that the ministerial department is aware of the fact that, with the financial means fixed in the budget, it will be difficult to fulfill the tasks for 1991. At the same time, they stated that the budgetary item of the Federal Ministry of Finance had been fixed before the competence bill was approved, and, therefore, does not distinctly reflect the fu ction of the ministry under the new conditions. The consequence is that the structural and selective policy of the federation have not been ensured and the republican budgets are not in harmony with the federal budget.

Government Approves Financial Management Decree

AU2512184790 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 18 Dec 90 p 1

[CTK report: "Principles of Financial Management; From a Session of the Federal Government"]

[Excerpts] Prague— The first item on the agenda of yesterday's session of the Federal Government was the approval of a CSFR Government decree on the financial management of state enterprises.

The decree abolishes the basic assets and investment funds, the turnover fund, the equities fund, the development fund, as well as special-purpose funds which are

financed from sources other than profit. The contingency reserve fund is being retained. It will evolve into a long-term source, financed from retained earnings, for offsetting cyclical swings in the financial management and for property acquisition. The obligation to maintain a fund of cultural and social needs is also being retained for the time being. This obligation will be waived once state enterprises are transformed into corporations or privatized.

The government also discussed a proposal for changing the concept of scaling down uranium mining in the CSFR in connection with the needs of the nuclear power industry. The excess production of uranium concentrate stemming from the present level of extraction will be stored in the federal material reserve fund, on the understanding that eventually this concentrate will be processed into nuclear fuel for the Mochovce and Temelin nuclear power stations. [passage omitted]

Furthermore, the government adopted measures for the gradual replacement of the old state emblem with the new one. It set deadlines by which individuals, bodies, and organizations must discontinue the use of the old state emblem. The old state emblem on rubber stamps, forms for internal use, and official passes of civil servants must be replaced by 31 December 1991 at the latest. Identity cards, certificates, and diplomas with the old state emblem may be issued until the end of March 1991 and travel documents until the end of June 1991. On buildings with architectural decoration, part of which is the state emblem, the old lion with a star can be watched the longest—until New Year's Eve of the year 2000.

The government approved forms of material incentives that will be extended to workers sent to countries with a nonconvertible currency after the introduction of the Czechoslovak koruna's internal convertibility. The greater part of the earnings of these workers will be paid out in freely convertible currencies. [passage omitted]

Ministry Official on 1991 Wage Policy Principles

AU2412091790 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 18 Dec 90 p 1

["(jsm, tos)"-signed report: "Wages Will Grow at a Slower Rate Than Prices"]

[Excerpt] Speaking at a news conference in the Federal Government Office yesterday, Petr Miller, federal minister of labor and social affairs, proclaimed a radical curtailment of the state's interference in the level of wages as the main principle [of wage policy] for next year. It soon became apparent, however, that such proclamations cannot be taken at face value. A certain regulation of wages will continue in state enterprises, budget-funded organizations, but also in corporations and in the entrepreneurial sphere. The abolition of wage regulation has been proposed only for enterprises with up to 25 employees.

Nothing has been decided as yet, however, and negotiations between the government, trade unions, and employers on the details continue. After the news conference I asked Vojtech Mechura, deputy federal minister of labor and social affairs, for an explanation. "It can be assumed," he told me, "that the permitted growth in wages for the first quarter of next year will be about seven percent. In the second quarter, however, the situation can be completely different, which could mean an increase by an additional ten percent." As prices will grow, the Federal Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs will simply have to permit, albeit with a delay, higher increases in wages without imposing sanctions on the enterprises in the form of higher levies. Because the generation of national income is expected to decline, one can assume that real wages will also decline next year.

The rate of wage increases should, generally speaking, be the result of bargaining between the trade unions or [other] representatives of employees and the employers and, self-evidently, an expression of the efficiency of the work of the enterprise. The state will determine, on the one hand, minimum wages (the government proposes 1,850 korunas a month while the trade unions propose 2,350 korunas a month) and, on the other, 12 wage categories for the basic types of workers' professions which employers must respect in determining basic wages. Regarding the regulation of wage increases by the state in the entrepreneurial sphere, it should not extend beyond next year. [passage omitted]

Czech Deputy Prime Minster Intends To Resign

AU2412165090

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 20 December on pages 1 and 2 carries a 400-word interview with Frantisek Vlasak, deputy prime minister of the Czech Republic, by RUDE PRAVO reporter Igor Sirota entitled "Czech Deputy Prime Minister F. Vlasak Submitted His Resignation." In the interview, the place and date of which are not given, Vlasak confirms the report which RUDE PRAVO received from an unidentified source that he had asked to be "released from his post." Asked about the motives for his step, Vlasak replies that he is now 79 "which I think is a sufficient reason." Replying to a question about his own assessment of his work in the Czech Government, Vlasak says that he "pushed through some good things" but "did not succeed in accomplishing all my aims, wishes, and ideas." Asked to be more specific, Vlasak says that he had hoped that the process of big privatization would start earlier, on 1 January 1991, and that greater use would be made of "active participation by foreign capital" in the privatization process. He believes that "very active participation by foreign capital" is essential to minimize the negative impact of economic reforms.

In a postscript RUDE PRAVO notes that Vlasak's resignation must be approved by the Czech National Council [CNR] Presidium and that it is not known when the CNR Presidium will discuss his request.

Czech Supplementary Election Participation Reported

AU2612093190 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 20 Dec 90 p 2

[CTK report: "Another 34 Constituencies"]

[Text] Prague—Supplementary elections to community representative bodies were held in 24 constituencies and in the town of Havirov on 15 December. As the Czech Electoral Commission stated at its session in Prague yesterday, 43.9 percent of voters participated in the elections in Havirov and 80.2 percent of voters participated in the elections in the other 24 constituencies. A total of 276 members of local and municipal representative bodies were elected. According to information from the Czech Justice Ministry, regional courts dealt with 113 written submissions concerning the results of the elections to representative bodies in constituencies. Complaints were considered to be warranted in six instances. Yesterday the Czech Electoral Commission also discussed holding supplementary elections in the remaining 34 constituencies where local elections have so far not been held. It recommended that the Czech National Council Presidium hold these elections in January 1991. New elections should also be held at the same time in those constituencies where the election results from 24 November were annulled by a decision made by the appropriate regional court.

OF Liberal Club Elects Leadership 20 Dec

AU2412222090 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 21 Dec 90 p 16

[CTK report in the "Chronicle" column]

[Text] The Civic Forum [OF] Liberal Club in the Federal Assembly elected Jana Petrova, Stanislav Chylek, and Ivan Rynda into its leadership yesterday.

ODA Says Split Within Civic Forum 'Necessary'

AU2412130290 Prague CTK in English 1635 GMT 20 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 20 (CTK)—Pavel Bratinka, the chairman of the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA), a rightist grouping within the Civic Forum [OF], said today that it is necessary for the OF to split into one leftist and one rightist party which would run separately in the next parliamentary elections in 1992.

Bratinka was speaking at a press conference of ODA at which newsmen were informed of the grouping's attitude to the present situation within the OF. ODA's statement said that two influential political parties, based on the existence of the Interparliamentary Democratic Right Club and the OF Liberal Club, should be set up. In order for the OF to keep its promises, the two streams must closely cooperate until the next parliamentary elections and their separation must be based on mutual agreement.

ODA Deputy Chairman and Chairman of the Interparliamentary Club of the Democratic Right Daniel Kroupa commented that OF Chairman Vaclav Klaus understands very well that the OF Liberal Club, set up last week, does not associate people of the same opinions but that it is a grouping of his opponents. He said ODA did not like this and wants the Liberal Club to be defined politically, and not out of dislike for one chairman. Jiri Skalicky, another member of the ODA leadership, thinks that the political struggle within the OF is a dispute about the concept of economic reform.... There are motives at work trying to reverse the approved economic blueprint, he said.

ODA was set up in December 1989 from the Movement for Civic Freedom, and at present has over 100 members and favors radical economic reform.

Federal Deputy Prime Minster Pavel Rychetsky who was recently elected one of the three spokesman for the Liberal Club, told CTK today that his club has a positive attitude to the Club of the Democratic Right "as we think that without close cooperation the program of the OF and in particular the tasks of the economic reform cannot be fulfilled."

Rychetsky said the reform will have serious impacts and the OF will succeed in carrying it through only if it has a broad platform as its support. Any narrowing of this platform would weaken the reform, said Rychetsky.

Meanwhile, CTK received a resolution of the OF Council of December 18 today, saying the council would consider it very unfortunate if the OF split up before its January congress.

Miller Disagrees With OF's Shift to Right

AU2612092990 Prague PRACE in Czech 20 Dec 90 p 2

["(bn)"-signed report: "Hazardous Fellows From Civic Forum (OF)"]

[Excerpts] Some 150 mayors and first councillors of towns and villages who had been elected for Civic Forum [OF] in 11 Moravian districts met in Zlin yesterday. [passage omitted] Petr Miller, CSFR minister of labor and social affairs, said in the debate, among other things, that he is unambiguously in favor of economic reform and does not want any socialism with a human or any other face. He dislikes, however, the hazardous approach of some OF representatives to the reform. "The set target must be achieved by decent means and not at the cost of driving many people into poverty, at the cost of acting harshly and unscrupulously. I therefore cannot agree to the OF being transformed into a right-wing capitalist party. This was not the slogan under which I led workers from the Prague CKD factory to Wenceslas Square [during the November 1989 revolution]," the minister said.

Commentary Views Shevardnadze's Resignation

AU2512165790 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 21 Dec 90 p 1

[Jan Petranek commentary: "A Spell of Frost Comes to Kremlin"]

[Text] The Congress of People's Deputies, i.e., the supreme legal authority in the USSR, was really consternated yesterday as Eduard Shevardnadze appeared on the platform and announced that he was leaving the post of the minister of foreign affairs. No one was wrong, who then thought of a spell of frost coming to Kremlin. The feeling was eased somewhat soon thereafter, when a declaration followed to the effect that Gorbachev himself was surprised, perhaps even taken aback, and that Soviet foreign policy definitely would not change. Shevardnadze was asked to continue in his work—apparently until a new government cabinet is formed, which is to take place in the very near future. By the new year, the government is to be restructured.

Considering the manner in which not only the climate but the entire new legal infrastructure of the state bodies is formed, one cannot disregard the fact that the resignation of a foreign affairs minister would have to be approved by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. This body, however, finds itself in a situation, which could be described by the American term "lame-duck session." Some of the deputy posts are to be filled now—according to the principle adopted last year of the annual one-fifth rotation—by new people (from the ranks of deputies of the Congress which is now in session), and only then will the USSR Supreme Soviet again be fully authorized for its function.

Today's world press will comment on the resignation offered by Shevardnadze and the spectrum of opinion will doubtless be exceptionally wide. Which ideas come to mind first? It is the end of good relations between the East and the West. The European Charter adopted in Paris, which only yesterday buried the cold war, is threatened. An advent of neo-Brezhnevites takes place in Moscow. The hard course may again take over.

These are some of the blackest contemplations, which will come forth in the world and which—as is obvious already from the first reactions by Moscow authorities—will be quite rejected a priori.

Does any more "pleasant" interpretation offer itself for Eduard Ambrosievich's resignation? Optimists may speculate that it is a step by which even the president may be forced to leave the position of a hesitant man in the center. This is because the core of the problem is the fact that positive foreign policy ran ahead of the stagnating domestic policy.

The recent replacement of the Interior Minister Vadim Bakatin by the "hard pair," Boris Pug and the deputy, General Boris Gromov, apparently threw wood on the fire of the behind-the-scenes struggle for a future orientation of the domestic development. The right wing welcomed this with cheers, and attacks on Shevardnadze ensued.

Gorbachev with his former minister of foreign affairs formed a tandem, unseen and unique in the Soviet politics, which acquired unusual trust. The fall of Shevardnadze necessarily represents also the loss of more than one-half of the credit for the Soviet president. It is impossible to write off the most successful member of the government without it being reflected as a merciless strike at the policy of new international relations. A "tie-break" will be played in the Kremlin now, i.e., translated "win or lose." The situation came to a head and the concrete clash has the form of an internal political struggle for the very function of the foreign policy. I believe that I would not be wrong in assuming that Shevardnadze's leaving the stage means that everywhere in the world the hands stopped—hands assigned, according to the agreements signed, to eliminate tanks, cannons, and rockets.

Eduard Shevardnadze was a thorn in the side of many army generals as well as of KGB and police generals. In a way, it is poignant if we remember that this most successful Soviet diplomat at one time used to be a very successful interior minister of Georgia; of the same Georgia, which now, after the Communist Party of Georgia lost the recent parliamentary elections, has very little interest in being member of the new Soviet Union. Certainly, the probability is very small that Shevardnadze would think of a new career in Tbilisi.

Experts Cited on USSR Oil Import Prospects

AU2512190890

[Editorial Report] Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 18 December on page 7 carries a 2,500-word article by Marcela Doleckova entitled "There Will (Hopefully) Be Oil—For Shoes and Dollars." The article, which is based on the author's undated interviews with L. Martak, deputy federal minister of foreign trade; V. Volf, general director of the Chemapol foreign trade enterprise; and M. Prybil, Volf's deputy, deals with the prospects of oil imports in 1991 and the subsequent years.

According to Volf and Prybil, it is "realistic" to expect imports of 13 million tonnes of crude oil from the Soviet Union next year, which is the "essentially needed" amount of crude oil according to the strategy of Czechoslovakia's economic development. This presupposes, however, "a normal development in the Soviet Union." Martak specifies that some of the Soviet oil will have to be paid for in dollars while the other part will be paid in "goods for the needs of Soviet oil industry workers." There will be three categories of such goods—consumer goods such as textiles and shoes; "auxiliary equipment for oil extraction" such as pipes, construction machinery, and heavy trucks; and "equipment for oil extraction proper," such as deep well pumps. While the

first two groups of merchandise represent no problem, according to Martak, because they are being exported to the Soviet Union already, the third category is "sensitive" because Czechoslovakia does not manufacture deep well pumps and will have to purchase them abroad. Martak mentions that "we have an offer from an American company which is ready to accept Czechoslovak goods for one part of its deliveries and to extend to us a credit for another part."

According to Doleckova, Czechoslovak foreign trade ministry officials have worked out three different scenarios of "approaching the issue of Soviet raw material and crude oil deliveries." The first scenario, called the "Gorbachev scenario," is based on the assumption that "Moscow will retain central economic power in its present scope." The second scenario assumes that raw material exports will be controlled by the union republics, while the third scenario assumes that the oil extracting regions themselves will avail themselves of "a certain proportion of the extracted oil." In this case Czechoslovakia "threw its lot in with Tyumen Oblast where two-thirds of Soviet oil extraction is carried out." The Chemapol officials stress that Czechoslovakia was the first CEMA country to enter into negotiations at regional level. "Moscow" is reportedly aware of these talks.

The Foreign Trade Ministry and Chemapol officials believe, according to Doleckova, that the above provisions for all contingencies should allow them to flexibly respond to developments in the Soviet Union and not to "trail behind developments in the Soviet Union" as happened this year.

Chemapol General Director Volf tells the HOSPODARSKE NOVINY reporter that, in addition to the exchange of Soviet oil for Czechoslovak exports, Czechoslovakia has been offered yet another possibility of acquiring Soviet crude. He says: "The Soviet side came up with the proposal to establish a joint crude oil venture. The Soviet Union has offered us two possible oil wells. The Soviet partner, who would have a 51 percent stake in the venture, would contribute the oil field while Czechoslovakia, with a stake of 49 percent, would contribute equipment. Each partner would receive one-half of output." Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Martak adds that "already in 1991 we could obtain about 1.5 million tonnes of crude oil from this joint venture."

In concluding, Doleckova expresses "sober optimism" as far as the prospects of oil supplies are concerned. She points out that, in addition to Soviet crude oil, Czechoslovakia could receive next year between three and five million tonnes of Iranian crude oil through the Adria pipeline. The situation should become easier in two to three years when Czechoslovakia will have established new oil pipeline links with Austria and Germany, which will allow a greater diversification of oil imports.

Joint Friendship Society Retains Large Membership

AU2612094290 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Dec 90 p 2

[Kveta Benesova report: "Thanks for Children From Chernobyl"]

[Excerpts] Prague (from our reporter)— Gennadiy Yagodin, chairman of the Soviet-Czechoslovak Friendship Society, and Vladimir Remek, chairman of the Society of Friends of the Peoples of the USSR, signed a protocol on cooperation in Prague on Wednesday [19 December].

As they both mentioned at a subsequent news conference, the document's scope is far more modest than that of its predecessors. Yet the program of cooperation is feasible and beneficial to both countries. G. Yagodin expressed sincere thanks to Czechoslovakia for the recreational stay of 900 children from the Chernobyl area [in Czechoslovakia this summer]. [passage omitted]

V. Remek said that the Society of Friends of the Peoples of the USSR now has some 300,000 members. [passage omitted]

Dienstbier Returns, Comments on Talks With Cheney

LD2312214190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1800 GMT 23 Dec 90

[Text] Jiri Dienstbier, deputy prime minister of the Federal Government and minister of foreign affairs, returned this evening from an official visit to Egypt, where the discussions he held centered on developments in the Gulf. Zbynek Merunka interviewed him on board his special aircraft.

[Begin recording] [Merunka] You are returning from a visit to Egypt. Are you satisfied with the way it went and with the results of your talks with Egyptian representatives?

[Dienstbier] It was in fact my first visit to Egypt and to an Arab country. I think that we must be much more active than we have been hitherto in our dealings with this region, which is of exceptional importance for us for a whole range of reasons, both from the political viewpoint and from viewpoints of security and economies. The situation in the Persian Gulf has so far cost us a great deal of money. When calculating direct and indirect losses, a figure of up to 2 billion dollars could be mentioned. Naturally, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and many other existing and potential conflicts threatening the whole of this region, must be solved because otherwise it will be a constant source of danger. To put it briefly, Saddam Husayn's war is often described as the first war of the 21st century, because it signals the danger that now that bipolar conflict between East and West has been overcome, there might arise a new bipolar North-South conflict, which would be unfortunate.

[Merunka] You also made use of your visit to Cairo for a short meeting with U.S. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney. What was this unscheduled meeting about?

[Dienstbier] I found out that Mr. Cheney was arriving in Cairo, so I asked the U.S. ambassador to arrange this meeting. It turned out that it would be possible to hold it in the Presidential Palace, because Mr. Cheney was coming to see President Mubarak immediately after me. So we found 20 minutes between these meetings, when I met with both Mr. Cheney and General Colin Powell, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. We discussed the situation in the Persian Gulf and also European security, in connection with the latest developments in the Soviet Union concerning the resignation of Eduard Shevardnadze from the post of minister of foreign affairs.

[Merunka] Thank you for the interview. [end recording]

Cabinet Approves Investments Protection Agreements

AU2412115990 Prague CTK in English 2032 GMT 20 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 20 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak cabinet approved agreements on protection of investments between Czechoslovakia and Italy, France, FRG, Austria, and Switzerland at its session here today.

The agreements are expected to increase the interest of foreign businessmen in investments in this country and strengthen their legal and economic guarantees facilitating free transfers of profits and payments without restrictions.

The cabinet approved the principles of Czechoslovakia's participation in the United Nations development program for 1991-93, under which Czechoslovakia's assistance to the developing countries will be granted mainly through the sending of Czechoslovak experts to these countries, design and research projects and training of experts.

The cabinet approved a bill on travels abroad, stating that each citizen will have a right to freely travel abroad and to freely return home. A fine of up to 5,000 korunas will be paid by persons who will attempt to cross the borders without a passport or elsewhere than at the border crossing.

The cabinet agreed to a rise in earnings of clergymen by up to 20 percent to vary between 1,800 and 3,500 crowns. It also approved procedures by which the property of the communist party will be returned to the people of Czechoslovakia.

The cabinet discussed a Slovak Government's report on the issue of the Danube water projects at Gabcikovo, Slovakia, and Nagymaros, Hungary. As Hungary has been avoiding to submit an official government position and failed to present any proposals for further course of action, the Slovak Government recommended the opening of talks at the level of government delegations. The Slovak prime minister was charged with leading the Czechoslovak delegation. Czechoslovakia's losses due to the failure to complete the joint project, opposed by Hungary and Czechoslovak environmentalists, amount to 18,850 million korunas for a period of five years.

Antall Expresses Views on Current Issues

LD2312191590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1405 GMT 23 Dec 90

[Interview with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall by Laszlo Rapcsanyi; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Rapcsanyi] I greet Mr. Prime Minister with respect. The listeners and the people of the country expect a lot from every such conversation. There is silence in this room, but what is filtering through from the world outside?

[Antall] I see the world fairly well despite the fact that there is silence here. The parliament is a building in which one hears everything, and I think that in my capacity one must know about everything, be it domestic or foreign news. Naturally people often think that he who assumes some kind of public office immediately loses touch with world events (?and perhaps c)es know the world). Many people want to give advice and call my attention to things that I, naturally, am aware of. This, however, does not mean that I would forego this advice or that I would not welcome it.

[Rapcsanyi] Have you always worked so hard? The word is slowly spreading that even on Sunday you are here.

[Antall] My fate has evolved throughout my life in such a way that I have always worked from morning to night.

[Rapcsanyi] It is being said in government circles that the ministerial meetings are almost like school classes held by the form master. They say jokingly that we all learn from these classes, and among themselves they call Mr. Prime Minister—a teacher can be told what his pupils call him, can he not—the form master. [passage omitted]

[Antall] I think that this school class held by the form master is just a picture that has evolved, and I consider it only as a humorous idea. The fact that many questions are presented to the Council of Ministers—and submitted in the beginning—which are not well prepared or, precisely because of the period of transition, perhaps, demand excessively detailed debate in the Council of Ministers might have added to this, perhaps.

[Rapcsanyi] Who is your political ideal in Hungarian history?

[Antall] I have never liked a historical view and historical analysis exclusively tied to one person. For me the mid-19th century in Hungarian history is decisive and so is the concept of the state, the political set of ideals, the system of institutions—and I may say even the concept of the market economy at that time. [passage omitted]

I think it is this period, 1825-1875, which is my real politically determining half a century, which was for the Germans as well as for the Italians the period of national rebirth for the Germans and the Italians. For this reason, too, I have always supported—in terms of a system of political ideas—the idea that national liberalism, with this adjective, has always been the common heritage of every Hungarian democratic force and political movement on the one hand, while on the other hand it is worth guarding. [passage omitted]

[Rapcsanyi] How do you explain, knowing your personality Mr. Prime Minister, which in reality the whole country knows, from the screen from voice, your calmness, your political ideas, your smile, why is it in spite of all these that you have to put up with so much criticism?

[Antall] Calmness is partly a question of self-discipline, the smile—many questioned me about this—there are people who are of the smiling type, there are others who smile less.

[Rapcsanyi] There are situations for a smile?

[Antall] This is one thing, and I talked about this during the election period, that I do not necessarily follow the American "keep smiling" [said in English] principle, and nor am I certain that the Hungarian people always expect this. Somehow I would feel it conflicting with our present situation to be so cheerful, I am not cheerful.

[Rapcsanyi] Often the country is not cheerful either; in fact, it is cheerful less and less frequently.

[Antall] The country is not cheerful either. I am not pessimistic by nature, we must start from the fact that in Hungary today the political situation, given the social and economic conditions, cannot be viewed cheerfully. There is always a strong contradiction when cheerful foreign politicans arrive and view Hungary with enormous optimism. I think, on the whole they are right. They compare the situation with that of other countries, other Eastern and Central European countries, and naturally it is still more favorable.

It must be recognized that half of all the foreign investments in the whole of the Eastern and Central European region have been made in Hungary. It is true that our debts—our per capita debt—is the highest. The facts are that the basis for for market economy does exist in Hungary. Hungary has an established system of political institutions and, until there is stability in the country, Western politicians, businessmen, and bankers are confident that Hungary will get out of this crisis.

[Rapcsanyi] They have greater confidence than those at home?

[Antall] Much greater. Now I am being squeezed between the two. When I am talking to them, when I am abroad in Paris or anywhere, then I feel that they have confidence, they are convinced that we will get out of this [word indistinct]; I am more of a restrained nature, and find it difficult even then to forget the problems at home. Only when we are at home, we are facing those everyday problems which affect the ordinary people, the everyday people, these mean the poorest pensioners, who are finding it increasingly difficult to look after themselves, those with large families, so all those groups

in society, whose standards of living are falling. If we take the middle groups, however, the middle groups on which we would need to build, which could have a pioneering role in the development, in enterprise, or take the group of employees, living from wages and salaries, at present everywhere the difficulties and the decline can be felt in everyday matters. [sentence as heard]

[Rapcsanyi] They can see no way out, this is why they are saying, as you well know, that the government has no program. Everyone would like to ask, and if they knew I was coming here, would have said, ask him how long will it go on like this? Give some encouragement.

[Antall] This, of course, is not true at all, that the government has no program. The government program was published in book form, the three-year program. For the solution of political and economic questions, the government naturally also has a program. Public opinion, however, is being influenced very unfavorably by manifestations; public opinion in Hungary is not yet used to what a parliamentary democracy, a political democracy means. The fact that the opposition says that government has no program does not mean that this is the case. If the press writes something bad it does not mean this is necessarily true. Journalists are the ones who keep telling me not to take notice of the press. I always much appreciate it when journalists say this.

[Rapcsanyi] The relations between you Mr. Prime Minister, your government and the press are not very favorable?

[Antall] This is true, but it can be said that it is in the nature of things that the majority of governments do not have very favorable relations with the press.

[Rapcsanyi] Is it not good manners to be backing the government?

[Antall] It is not fashionable to be supporting the government, quite the contrary.

[Rapcsanyi] Not fashionable?

[Antall] Not fashionable; in Hungary this, in my view, is appearing in quite a distorted form. We never wished for, or asked for a panting [as heard] government-supporting press behind us. We would only like—and I, personally, as well—that the press should provide objective information, objective analysis and, primarily, should not behave as if they were cheering against us.

[Rapcsanyi] In an earlier statement, Mr. Prime Minister, you said to one of my colleagues that Hungary is an opposition country [always opposing on principle].

[Antall] This is true, it had always been so, but this was already written about by people more clever than myself [passage omitted] For four centuries we did nothing but oppose. In our country, opposing, having different views, resisting, is virtually compulsory. We were always fighting against something, so this simply must be accepted. This is generally applicable to our politics.

[Rapcsanyi] Public opinion thinks this coalition is not so very strong after all, obviously this also follows from press commentaries, experiences, or statements from the coalition parties.

[Antall] In Hungary, the economic and political situation diverged from that of the so-called socialist countries. Here the Kadar consolidation was based first of all on depolitization, a deliberate depolitization of the country was conducted. On the other hand, with great aptitude, they made a completely obsolete economic system work with foreign loans in such a way as to ensure full employment for the population, a standard of living not high by Western standards, but better compared with other countries.

[Rapcsanyi] What they are going to say now is, and now we are going to have unemployment? They are looking back to the yesterday with illusions, as if everything had been fine.

[Antall] Of course everything was not in order, but what was typical of the whole period was that it gave people security and opportunities, even if one a given low level, so that they felt that even if took them decades—for example, if we take the housing situation, or a car, or a holiday cottage or a foreign visit, they could eventually achieve it.

[Rapcsanyi] The so-called fridge socialism?

[Antall] That is it, and the "most cheerful barrack in the camp" claim and there were always opportunities which with self-exploitation, with weekend work or other ways, something could be achieved. This was typical.

[Rapcsanyi] Is this what remained as a memory?

[Antall] This collapsed, the whole communist world collapsed, the economic and social structure of the whole region, collapsed. Within this, in Hungary as well, of course, problems emerged which are our inheritance, they are not interested. As during the Kadar period, or after World War II they hated it when references were made to the Horthy era, so just the same the people hate it now.

[Rapcsanyi] They do not like to hear again about this past inheritance.

[Antall] Past inheritance, and depolitization was reached consciously, making people forget the memory of 1956, making them forget earlier events. With this, interest was killed off in a very wide range of social groups.

[Rapcsanyi] A generation has grown up since then.

[Antall] Certain political ideas and concepts often appear outdated or superfluous, ideas which we at the Democratic Forum believe the thoughts with which we accept the inheritance of national liberalism of the previous century, the ideas of nation and populism which—from Gyula Illyes to Istvan Bibo—can in no way

be regarded as opposite to Europe. The modern interpretation of Christian democracy that developed after World War II and is completely different from political movements between the two wars or even earlier ones. We accept these, but even for this we do not have acceptance from a wide circle, there are many misunderstandings and so on. It is obvious that there are differences when we are looking at it from the political perspective or from a three-four year economic policy perspective. [passage omitted]

[Rapcsanyi] If fate is such that next year at this time we have another conversation, will we be able to see out of the woods?

[Antall] I hope that we shall see out of the woods, but I cannot promise this, if I am burdened by this responsibility at the time. I do not like to raise false hopes; however, I am convinced of one thing: that our maintainance of political stability in Hungary is much more important than people think at first glance. At the end of April 1990, Hungary was really on the verge of financial crisis, because the National Bank's stock of deposits (?fell below) a minimum. As prime minister designate, not only did I have to speak about the state of the country, but I also had to speak about political stability. What is most impotant here is that the world and Hungary should sense the political stability.

At this point I will return to the question of the coalition. Our point of departure was that the political parties got into parliament in a manner whereby a relatively large portion of the country did not take part in the voting. I am not speaking of the local authority elections. Already in the parliamentary elections, the turnout was smaller than, for example, in Germany and elsewhere. As a result, an alienation from politics, or lack of interest, appeared earlier.

Apart from this, a very significant proportion of the people took a wait-and-see position. Very many people criticize, generally, or have criticized the opposition, the politicians, parliament, but somehow the country viewed them as if it were watching a football match from outside. A very significant portion of the intelligentsia blames those who are contesting one another in the political arena—they very often criticize them from a professional viewpoint or otherwise. Very often, however, one has the feeling even now that up to the most recent period—until 1989—even in the election period in 1990, a major proportion of the people took a wait-and-see position.

Of course, this is a two-sided thing. It may be that the opposition, or some of its groups, did not like one side; however, on the other side, it did not believe that this turnabout would succeed. [passage omitted] I think that it is necessary to take into account the fact that no Solidarnosc-type of mass movement took shape in this country, since the dictatorship was not of such a type. Here, there was a transitional period in the final one-and-a-half years, as compared to Romania, or Czechoslovakia, or elsewhere. So here, the experience of the turnabout was not so strong.

That is one thing, that here—compared to the Kadar period—the change of system was not such a cathartic experience, which is very important in the life of a country, for example seeing how 1848-49 turned the country into a nation, or the U.S. Civil War for the Americans. The slow transition here has its avantages and disadvantages. The disadvantage is that psychologically, the country has not grasped the turnabout. It has not comprehended that the entire communist system has collapsed, its economic and social structure, its market system, all of which was artifically developed in the past decades have collapsed, and we must bear the consequences of this.

[Rapcsanyi] Mr. Prime Minister, what is your experience with the coalition, and what is your relationship like with the pluralistic parties?

[Antall] A coalition always entails difficulties, especially at the time a government is being formed. I should not like to go into details. Perhaps by the time this radio broadcast is heard, there will be further developments. It is certain, however, that political party relations have not yet developed. So here, the people have difficulty in understanding, and the parties have difficulty in adapting to the existing traditional European forms.

It is not possible for individual parties to sit in, let us say, two or three factions in the European Parliament, or in the parliament of the Council of Europe. It is necesary to decide what political faction a person belongs to. Our government coalition belongs to the faction that consists of the union of European democratic parties, including Christian democrats, certain conservative-liberal political groups. Others also have to decide whether they are liberal or social democratic. It is not possible to sit in two places at once.

[Rapcsanyi] It is said that the Hungarian Government is more popular abroad than here at home.

[Antall] Yes, that could perhaps be said. I believe that the Paris summit gave an indication of this. I believe that the Hungarian delegation and our contributions were given special attention, everywhere, ranging from President Bush to Chancellor Kohl. These aroused a good reaction in the world press in quite a number of aspects.

This, however, also pertains to the need for the coalition to be firm, and for the coalition parties to understand where they belong and the nature of the line that they must consistently carry through; it is the same, of course, for the opposition. I believe that the coalition, which is a center party coalition and which, in spite of internal contradictions, is trying to stabilize itself regarding its political ideas, must maintain correct relations with the opposition parties, too. For this reason, there are issues in which three-party cooperation, is necessary, and there

are issues in which there is need for six-party cooperation within parliament. To be sure, deputies are having great difficulty in accustoming themselves to the fact that certain global interests or strategic interests sometime require deputies' discipline, and this is developing with difficulty. Every deputy feels that....

[Rapcsanyi, interrupting] He must speak....

[Antall] ...he must speak from the viewpoint of his individual constituency, or his views, from the angle of his individual constituency, the issues on which he makes a contribution. Thus, the government party deputies often compete with the other side in their opposition tone.

[Rapcsanyi] Would you have changed place, just as a playful idea, with an opposition member? Is it a good thing to be an opposition member?

[Antall] Basically I am a person thinking in terms of governing, I am not in favor of opposition for the sake of opposing. First, I have opinions, and then perhaps I have counter-opinions. I do not like the political attitude of opposing against one's own convictions. Obviously, if we were in opposition, we could be in a much easier position and then obviously I could have a better outlet for my debating ability or sarcastic sentences.

[Rapcsanyi] Sarcastic sentences?

[Antall] My sarcastic sentences. I could have better outlets; as it is now, I try to discipline myself, but basically in the field of actions I am thinking in terms of governing. The country is not in a position to allow playing with fire.

[Rapcsanyi] On the basis of the political experiences of the past months, if you look back, would you have done something differently or quicker or slower, or with greater contours?

[Antall] If we are looking at things in the ideal way, of course many things could be looked at in theory. I cannot forget how we had to start, people working together, who did not—contrary to public belief—spend decades together in political practice....

[Rapcsanyi] In practice?

[Antall] They did not spend decades in political parties, of course; they had not been in parliament, there are hardly any—I did not count them up—but I am sure 90 percent of them had never been members of parliament. If we look at the Hungarian Socialist Party, or others who were in parliament after the war, or came in now at supplementary elections, this is a very small number. The previous parliament, the one before us, was a very strange phenomenon, where there already were opposition contributions. There was a large government majority, but there could be speeches against anything in fact. This provided a very poor parliamentary model and it influenced very damagingly the model of a modern parliamentary system, this last one and a half, two years of disintegrating parliament. Though in a period of great transition it also had some positive role, at the same time it was not a multiparty parliament but a parliament based on individuals and on their willingness to take on individual roles, and this was shown on TV, members of parliament and everyone has this impression. So this last parliament was a very poor example.

[Rapcsanyi] Yes, now a portrait of everyone is being formed, as a consequence of the blessings of TV and on the basis of radio contributions, the sentences of everyone are being preserved, and a picture is formed of everyone. It is really like in school, if an adjective is stuck to somebody, not even God can remove it, especially if somebody adds something to it. I often think that you, Mr. Prime Minister, have better chances with the opposition than within the coalition, because with the opposition you can work with the pure crossing of swords; internally, better understanding must be shown.

[Antall] It is well known that Montgomery also said before the battle of Alamein that he would find it easier to deal with Rommel than with his own chief of staff, Alan Brooke. The opposition is in opposition, I cannot expect them not to criticize the government, or not make use of every opportunity, except in the case of great national issues, and a few common interests. Within the coalition, however, the government should be supported. MP's find it difficult to get used to this, and the opposition knows this as well as we do, that the burden and responsibility of governing is on our own shoulders, and our MP's must suffer the consequences of unpopular measures. They are the ones—the coalition MP's—who, when they are going home, have to face the people in their towns, villages, they are the ones to whom complaints are made about measures, are talked about, they are the ones to forward these and bring them along. They are continuously coming into conflict with themselves, they feel it, they agree, I do it too, but I know that there is no other way except to carry out these measures, precisely to allow us to get out of the crisis. This causes tensions within the government coalition, or even within our own party; this is part of the struggle for something better, and causes great tensions. The opposition is held together because it is much easier to accept these things in opposition, and they are not under the same pressure as MPs from the governing parties. The MPs in the governing parties had also all been opposition people, who got used to being able to criticize, oppose, and now at the same time have to undertake the support of the government, otherwise they could bring the government down. Presently, the government cannot be defeated in a parliamentary manner if the coalition holds together.

[Rapcsanyi] Are you prepared for such thoughts, for the possibility of the defeat of the government?

[Antall] I think that in the course of the debates, those who have eyes and ears for seeing and hearing, know that nobody is trying to achieve this right now. I did not do it either because I was fired by career ambitions, I accepted this simply as a service, because somebody must do this,

because in Hungary there was a danger of anarchy or collapse, or there could be. On the other side, there is a historical chance, somebody must do this.

The opposition and forces outside parliament naturally criticize everything, but there is no other solution, nobody could show such in the course of all the criticism. It is easy to shout slogans, it is easy to utter slogans in financial policy either within the government coalition or outside, in economic policy utter slogans of "enterprise-friendly" or "demand-vitalizing" to criticize the budget, the fiscal policy, criticize the international banking world and its impact in our country. All these are very easy, they can be said, but one thing is certain, you cannot create economic stability, revive enterprises if we do not keep to the budget, we cannot be enterprise-friendly, demand revitalizing while retaining the solvency of the country [sentence as heard]. The responsibility must be taken for all these together.

I am convinced everyone knows all this very well, and, of course, it is the job of the opposition; they feel "in the given situation this is what we should be doing."

[Rapcsanyi] [Words indistinct].

[Antall] It is not often that they do so, also personally I cannot say they are hostile, or do not recognize, or misunderstand, but it is still unusual when someone talks in the corridors to somebody they have just crossed sharp words with in parliament. It is natural that you have to talk, this is what distinguishes us from a disordered society.

[Rapcsanyi] Mr. Prime Minister, you have spoken about political stability. In your words, political stability is....

[Antall] First, that the existing institutional systems and the institutional systems which are being formed should be consolidated. By this I mean parliament, government, the self-governments, primarily. Thus, it is necessary to maintain a political democracy which is able to function.

Second, the handling of the interest protection organizations should be done in a responsible manner, through interest coordination, in accordance with realities. Here, on the side of the employers doubt was cast on one another's legitimacy for a long time. Now, ranging from the Economic Chamber to the National Association of Industrialists and National Association of Entrepreneurs, thus the various organizations, and the various employees' interest protection organisations, the former trade unions, the [democratic] league [of independent trade unions], the workers' councils and so on have opposed one another. Therefore, there has not emerged in Hungary the interest protection mechanism which should be an organic part of a political democracy just like the other institutions.

[Rapcsanyi] This has also been a problem for government.

[Antall] No matter who it was with whom we sat down to negotiate, the others were infuriated. This is one of the major positive aspects of the taxi crisis, that they sat side by side very nicely, on behalf of employers and employees who cast doubt on one another's legitimacy.

On the other hand, what stability also entails is that, with an adopted budget, it should be possible to guarantee that the country's solvency can be maintained. It is for this that we shall get the appropriate credit from the IMF. The agreement depends on the adoption of the budget. After that we can receive all financial support, ranging from the Common Market, and this guarantees a maintenance of the country's solvency next year as well as a way out.

This situation must be interpreted simply as being a post-earthquake condition. It must be grasped, finally, that a political, economic, social earthquake took place in Eastern and Central Europe. This was an earthquake which caused the collapse of buildings, institutions, structures, which destroyed souls in the sense of being injured and in every sense. It is here where social solidarity appears, and it is here where all other obligations appear. It is a fact that Hungary now has the possibility of becoming a genuine part of a united Europe. This is a prospect; however, for us to become part of a united Europe, enormous efforts are necessary. This also will facilitate our keeping pace, regarding development. For example, there can be no agricultural market thinking, an agricultural system cannot be developed which might lead to a situation in which the people are cheated in five years owing to a transformation in Austria and the need for it to transform everything only because they are in contact with the Common Market—and it is the same in Italy, in Spain. Our entire way of thinking, our entire system of enterprise must, therefore, adapt to the new Europe. Whether or not we like it, this is our sole possibility. I believe that this guarantees a stable future.

[Rapcsanyi] With an enormous number of personal problems.

[Antall] Of course. Here is the case of East Germany. Behind it is the largest economic power in Europe from an economic viewpoint—the former West Germany. There, too, there are enormous social tensions in East Germany, in East German provinces; there is unemployment and investment problems. Everything conceivable is at West Germany's disposal, and this entails tensions there too.

We have supporters; however, it is not one part of the nation, but the whole country that has ended up in this situation.

[Rapcsanyi] Of course, if we accept this depiction, help for one who sustains a fall in this situation and who wants to go on living requires incredible sacrifices.

[Antall] This is an enormous sacrifice, of course. This is why I am asking for the people's understanding. That is why I am asking the press not to cheer against us. Against whom are they cheering? If this government goes,

another government will not be able to do it any better. It will not be able to act differently, apart from, possibly, in one or two issues. What is at issue is that we are in a period when someone must do this work. There is enormous, justified tension among the people, not only regarding the issue of the deteriorating living standard, but also in the issue of justice. People feel as if they lived through these decades numbed with fear, and we should think not only of Budapest, but of the villages where the interest systems were such that individual tyrants—be they presidents of agricultural cooperatives or people in other functions—kept elderly people, uninformed people, in fear. A situation has now emerged in which it is felt, at least by a part of society, that they were deprived of their lands, chased away from the villages, dragged off to Hortobagy [plain near Debrecen], deported, and so on; they lived through all these horrible things, their family life was deformed, while the beneficiaries of the past decades appear now as entrepreneurs, possibly, or are better off materially. There is, of course, enormous moral tension.

So when we see the people's bitterness on the one side, in this regard, we must understand this. On the other hand, it must also be understood that if we simply accept this and allow it to continue unimpeded, the issue at hand wil be not only one of personal vengeance, but also of the possibility that those who have certain material means, for example entrepreneurs, will not invest them here. We cannot prevent them from disposing of what they have acquired. If the change took place in the framework of a peaceful transition—it was not a revolution—then this has its consequences.

We wanted to maintain production. So there is a clash here of moral considerations, persecutions, vilifications; on the other side, the same people as in the past availing themselves of the unjustly acquired advantages. The indignation of the people should not cause surprise, and we, at the meetings of the Hungarian Democratic Forum or any other party, rightly hear that we have not completed the administering of justice, and so forth.

On the other hand, however, security is also necessary, because if people begin this where will they stop?

[Rapcsanyi] We face a year full of sacrifices, and now, when the conversation, which we recorded a few days earlier, is heard the Christian candles and lights will burn on the streets and in the homes. I imagine that everyone will listen to these words with the question in mind of whether they have been given a reply.

[Antall] As I said, this, perhaps, will be the most difficult year. Furthermore, I hope that only this will be the country's most difficult year. The first months will be especially difficult, winter and everything else, and our surroundings, if we look at them. In spite of the fact that I believe that this will be the most difficult year, and that serious ordeals await us, I nonetheless say that we shall find our way out of this. We agreed that this conversation would not be some kind of economic program discussion, and that it would not be necssary to state concrete plans in the framework of this conversation. It will be possible, with the appropriate support, trust and confidence, to emerge from this crisis, but only if there is trust between people, toward one another, if there is trust in government, if there is trust in the systems of political institutions.

This is a new period which has come about as the result of elections, and if we can maintain it, if the people endure it, if they are tolerant enough to bear these ordeals, then I do believe that there will be a way out—with the proviso that, as I said, the tolerance capacity in Hungary is much smaller than, for example, in Romania or Poland where for decades people virtually prepared themselves for obtaning things on the black market, for obtaining things through special ways. The way of life was simply such that they prepared themselves for the difficulties, and everything was good in comparison to this. Just as after 1956, the country gradually went from a worse situation that what, properly speaking, was a better situation, for a time. So going from what is worse to someting better in itself leads to a better state of being.

In the country, however, belief is necessary for this, because if the country does not have belief, trust, this will not lead anywhere.

[Rapcsanyi] Esteemed Mr. Prime Minister, on behalf of all of us we wish you, personally, good health. We wish your family, and ourselves too, strength, so that we will have trust, strength, and belief in what is somehow shining at the end of the forest.

[Antall] I also thank you, and in line with what is possible, I wish the people of the entire country pleasant Christmas holidays, and I wish for a new year whereby, having gone through it, we shall proceed toward a better world. That is why I cannot easily say the cliche, that I wish you a happy new year.

[Rapcsanyi] Thank you for the meeting.

Goncz Interviewed on Prospects, Presidency

LD2512175290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1120 GMT 25 Dec 90

[Interview with President Arpad Goncz by Istvan Vizinger; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Vizinger] You visited Japan not long ago, and in one of your speeches you said: The country [Hungary] is facing its hardest year since the end of the war. This sounds rather frightening; if I remember well, there have been some rather hard years in the past 45 years. Is this not an overstatement?

[Goncz] I believe this year will be hard mainly because we are going into it with our eyes open. The crucial year has been 1990 when the deep current of the change—I mean economic change mainly—could be felt. Despite

the very hard living conditions, many signs show that change has started. [passage omitted]

[Vizinger] How could the information channels be reopened? You said earlier that there was a problem in this field.

[Goncz] I do not know. I do not know; my impression is that at the beginning I thought it was just me who did not receive information, but now I see that there is a horizontal lack of information; the parties do not receive information, and there is a lack of information between the coalition parties, too. I cannot imagine how an opposition party could form a shadow government under these circumstances, as a shadow government can only work if it receives the same information as the government. I can see that the government itself is struggling with this problem, too. All I can say is that one of the limits of the system transformation is that presumably the natural (?capillarity) common in government which have been in office for a long time has not developed yet. Not only the channels, but the style of cooperation has not developed yet either.

[Vizinger] There are letters which indicate that people cannot cope with seeing signs of parliamentary democracy that they are not used to: empty seats in the parliament, (?open) disputes, unfinished issues which can be seen now and could not be seen before.

[Goncz] I believe this parliament has reached record achievements, as no parliament in the world, including our own history, has passed so many acceptable laws as this parliament has. Issues which require one and a half years to be processed in any experienced parliament in Europe, have gone through the parliamentary procedures in Hungary in three to six weeks. What is most surprising is that the rate of mistakes is hardly higher than in experienced legislatures. I would like this to be a message to the country. The amount of arguments in the parliament does not exceed the number of arguments in other civilized parliaments, but this country is used to the fact that deputies just sit in parliament and they all lift their hands up at the same time. People thought that was the way the parliament should work, that it was the (?sign) of the so-called national unity. [passage omitted] We have been going downhill for a long time now and we will have to make the step to jump over the gap however hard it may be, as we can only escape forward, no other way.

[Vizinger] What if we do not succeed, if we do not do it?

[Goncz] What can I say? Have you ever seen a nation die because people are tired? No. However, this makes the work of the government a lot more difficult. [Words indistinct] It is extremely difficult to experiment in this country, with this country. [Words indistinct] God sees my soul. I do not know how the finance minister's hand does not tremble when he signs a decree. [passage omitted]

[Vizinger] Can you imagine a situation when you would give up the Presidency?

[Goncz] I cannot imagine a situation in which I would give it up, but I can imagine a situation in which I would have to leave to save my honor. [passage omitted]

Nominated Interior Minister on Initial Measures

AU2512190990 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 18 Dec 90 p 1

[Interview with Peter Boross, nominated interior minister, by Ujhegyi; place and date not given: "Public Administration Also Affects People's Wellbeing"; first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Text] Peter Boross informed our newspaper about the changes he planned to make in the Interior Ministry.

[Ujhegyi] Were you surprised to be nominated as interior minister by Prime Minister Jozsef Antall?

[Boross] That was the prime minister's decision, and I have to abide by it. It is a difficult assignment, but my previous duties were similarly difficult [as supervisor of the Information Office and the Office of National Security]. It is true, however, that I was able to establish a foundation for myself based on a certain amount of experience in that job; I was already familiar with the circumstances. Just recently, I carried out some fundamental reshuffles.

[Ujhegyi] What changes do you plan to make in the Interior Ministry?

[Boross] I think that the Interior Ministry is too large an organization; therefore, individual sectors have to be given a certain amount of autonomy. Public administration workers, the police, and border guards all have different tasks in their work, so their problems also differ. The police force and border guards both require serious discipline; I am thinking primarily of the commanding officers' responsibility. That is precisely why some reshuffles in this area cannot be excluded—although I am not setting about this job with the explicit intention of carrying out a reshuffle. If a reshuffle proves to be necessary, I will not postpone my decision. I trust that I will not be forced to take this measure, or that the personnel changes will be minimal.

[Ujhegyi] What do you see as your most important task at present?

[Boross] At the moment, public administration is the most important element, because right now, we are creating the appropriate conditions to enable our self-governing bodies to function. It is essential that public administration function smoothly, because if public administration starts stalling, citizens may begin to feel ill at ease. Self-governing bodies are starting to set about their real tasks now, and the Interior Ministry can assist these bodies by providing continuous information. In other words, we do not want to interfere, we would just like to influence the work of the self-governing bodies. In recent times, the greatest problem with our public

administration was precisely slowness, delays caused by obscure legal formulations. That is why I would first of all like to simplify our administration. I dare to announce this even though the law on self-governing bodies is far from complete.

[Ujhegyi] Do you plan to reorganize the police force, and will you try to speed up the examination of the police law?

[Boross] As far as I can tell, the anti-police atmosphere that prevailed not so long ago is starting to fade away, because people have begun to realize that they need the police for their own good. I think that it is not just the police force that should be democratic, but also the country, and a democratic country needs a functioning police force. This in turn requires an appropriate legal background, and I am sure that the bill that will be presented to parliament in February will guarantee this legal background.

New FKgP General Secretary on Recent Congress

AU2112133990 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 17 Dec 90 p 3

[Interview with Sandor Olah, newly appointed general secretary of the Smallholders' Party by unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "General Secretary's Opinion About the Presidium Meeting: Fifty Percent Success"; first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Text] We asked Sandor Olah to evaluate his party's two-day congress and the new leadership.

[Olah] Although the deputies failed to carry out all the planned tasks—only about 50 percent of the them—I nevertheless regard the congress as successful: The leadership has been renewed, and so has most of the party statute of 1947. It is a rather obsolete one, but we have not yet fully updated this statute. We failed to carry out all the tasks partly because the agenda broke down—namely, the election of the new leadership took place before the modification of the party statute, which took up a full day. Thus, a strange situation might emerge in which we couple the old parts with the four-fifths of the modern statute.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Could the new leadership bring some changes in the current policy of the Smallholders' Party [FKgP]?

[Olah] No, because there have always been differences of views, and not differences of principle within our party; furthermore, these differences of views derived from the different evaluations of the situation and from the personality of individual leaders. Besides, I think that the deputies dealt more with the party's future policy, rather than the persons.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Will there be any change in the activity of the party's parliamentary faction?

[Olah] Although the decisions of the general meeting do not affect the party's parliamentary faction directly, these decisions will influence the policy in parliament. I would also like to mention the fact that a certain change in style has already occurred, and this applies to all the parties, including the FKgP.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] What is your opinion about the future of the coalition? It has been repeatedly said at the party congress that there are limits to the readiness of the FKgP to compromise. The party chairman himself, Jozsef Ferenc Nagy also declared that the party would leave the coalition if the members desired this.

[Olah] Indeed, although we support the coalition, we do not do this unconditionally. The party congress failed to formulate precisely these conditions, and this will only take place at an extraordinary general meeting. This does not represent a real loss, however; all the more so because we do not intend to give an ultimatum to our coalition partners. I must also point out that a coalition is not only influenced by the participants in this coalition, but also by external circumstances. Let me remind you of the taxi drivers' blockade. In a balanced economic situation, it is not impossible that [Prime Minister] Jozsef Antall might also accept the leadership of a minority government. This is not probable in an uncertain situation, and the current situation is an uncertain one.

Water Affairs Minister on Bos-Nagymaros Dam

AU2312210790 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 18 Dec 90 p 5

[Interview with Minister for Water Affairs Csaba Siklos by Gyula Fejer; place and date not given: "We Will Not Build Bos-Nagymaros"; first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Excerpt] A division was recently made between the local organizations—the so-called Kovizigs [name as published]—of the former Ministry for Environmental Protection and Water Affairs, and the relevant directing bodies which have now also been established. The third branch of the Ministry of Transportation, Telecommunications, and Water Affairs has been able to start operating. We spoke to Csaba Siklos about the steps that led to the reorganization, and about the ministry's new tasks.

[Fejer] It is ironical that the person in charge of the country's water affairs happens to be a man who repeatedly argued against the Bos-Nagymaros project at a time when it was fashionable to acquiesce. Do you not see the extension of your sphere of authority as a suicidal undertaking?

[Siklos] No, I do not see this as a suicidal step. First, my opinion about Bos-Nagymaros has not changed one bit. Second, there were times when the country was proud of the people in charge of our water affairs: for example, at the time of the great floods in the Danube basin, 25 years

ago, or at the time of the floods by the Tisza river, 20 years ago. Nowadays, however, there is hardly anyone who does not associate water affairs with the aforementioned barrage, also known as Danosaur (as in the dinosaur of the Danube). Many people are even prepared to project all the hatred caused by a mistaken political decision onto this historically renowned profession. Naturally, it is always easier to find a scapegoat than to clarify facts.

[Fejer] In that case, let us try to clarify these facts! What made the government unite water affairs, transportation, and telecommunications under one ministry; surely not the fact that transportation can also take place on water?

[Siklos] That is also an argument, albeit not a decisive one. The decision basically came about because the government wanted to put the whole infrastructure into one basket; in that way, shortfalls can be controlled more easily. Nor was it negligible that, in this way, water management—as part of our production infrastructure—could be closely linked to the range of duties of the transportation and telecommunications branches. Incidentally, cooperation between these three branches was also positive before this unification.

[Fejer] You see navigation as a secondary argument influencing the government's decision. Environmentalists, however, claim that the government wants to smuggle back Nagymaros under the pretext of improving navigation conditions.

[Siklos] No matter how important navigation might be, ecological interests definitely come first. Several of our foreign partners have pointed out that an intervention would be preferable to make better use of international waterways. Every time they mention this, we turn a deaf ear. The government has already declared its intentions, and I can only repeat that we will not build Nagymaros.

[Fejer] Nor have you done anything about the destroyed landscape, so far!

[Siklos] Oh yes, we have, but these things do not happen overnight. We cannot recreate the original conditions without plans, and there are no plans yet. Allow me to add—although this does not come under the sphere of authority of our ministry—that competent people will start with their work in this area in 1992. [passage omitted]

Border Guards Chief on Future Reorganization

AU2312194090 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 18 Dec 90 pp 1,5

[Interview with Balazs Novaky, head of the border guards, by Attila Gy. Fekete; place and date not given: "There Is Still Time To Prepare"; first two paragraphs are NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Excerpts] At the time of the unprecedented influx of immigrants into our country, the Hungarian border guards did whatever they could, given that they had no appointed leader. On Thursday, 13 December, however, Interior Minister Balazs Horvath inaugurated Major General Balazs Novaky into his office as head of the Hungarian border guards; for the last six months, Novaky had led the border guards as acting commander.

This appointment put an end to the uncertainty caused by the lack of a leader in the organization. The "soldiers" can feel more at ease now. It is uncertain, however, how long these soldiers will continue to exist, and we do not know whether the general situation along our borders is particularly reassuring. We interviewed Balazs Novaky on these issues.

[Fekete] If everything runs according to plan, you will probably be the last commander of the Hungarian border guards as we know them today. Indeed, according to a new border surveillance concept, the border guards will be transformed into Border Security Forces [Hatarrendeszet]. Is this reorganization timely?

[Novaky] This is absolutely not a new concept. The idea arose years ago, from observations of the examples and practices demonstrated by various West European border surveillance organizations: We decided that our border guards had to be reorganized. In a constitutional state, one cannot defend borders merely by relying on the strength of weapons; furthermore, we will not be able to join Europe if we maintain our old, Soviet-style, militant organization. Nowadays, the Hungarian law sees unarmed and nonviolent border violations as offenses; therefore, there is no justification for taking border violators into armed custody, for keeping them in custody, or for following them. We have to proceed with these violators in the same way that the police would proceed in case of an offense inside the country: We have to warn the persons concerned, perhaps fine them on the spot, and return them back to the country.

[Fekete] That would probably be possible if we were talking about an offender or two. What if they come by the hundreds, however, or thousands....? The idea to let the Hungarian Army "take over" from the young servicemen who watch over our unguarded border areas [zoldhatar] was not brought up by coincidence. Indeed, some people have predicted that if the Soviet Union gives its citizens a world passport, we will be flooded by several million refugees.

[Novaky] Predictions are one thing, but reality is another. I do not think that the refugees will appear all at once along Hungary's borders, which stretch over more than 2,000 km. What we can expect is an increased influx of incoming travelers; many of these travelers may not want to return home, and they may try to travel on toward the West. Hungary's future passport policy, however, will determine how many people will actually be let into the country. [passage omitted]

[Fekete] When will the reorganization of Hungary's border guards be complete?

[Novaky] The reorganization should be complete by the end of 1995. From then on, there will be some 6,000-6,500 professionals in the organization, 1,600 civil employees will stay on, and the Budapest border guard regiment will be maintained, with some 2,500 conscripts. [passage omitted]

CSFR's Calfa To Visit in Jan on Bos-Nagymaros

LD2112190590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 21 Dec 90

[Report on interview with CSFR Prime Minister Marian Calfa by Forro; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] Forro] The Czechoslovak prime minister is expected to visit Budapest in January. This was said by Marian Calfa at a news conference in reply to a question from Hungarian radio. He pointed out that his visit to Hungary was scheduled to take place a short time ago, but he postponed this at the request of the Hungarian side owing to the illness of Jozsef Antall. I also asked the prime minister what the fate of the Bos water barrage would be.

[Calfa, in Czech fading into Forro's report in Hungarian] At its session yesterday, the Federal Government made a decision on the Bos-Nagymaros water barrage. We shall begin talks soon with the Hungarian side. It is not a Slovak-Hungarian, but a Czechoslovak-Hungarian issue. We charged Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar with heading the negotiating delegation, but I emphasize again that the talks will take place at a Czechoslovak-Hungarian level. I have to note, however, Marian Calfa said, that beginning 1 January, energy matters will come under the jurisdiction of the national governments. The Slovak Government will finance the power stations on its territory. Therefore, the Bos water barrage will also come under its jurisdiction.

Shevardnadze Resignation Sounds 'Alarm Bells'

AU2512151490 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Dec 90 p 7

[Dawid Warszawski commentary: "Why Did He Go?"]

[Text] As a rule, foreign ministers tend to resign when the foreign policy they have been pursuing proves to be a fiasco. Shevardnadze, on the other hand, had many successes to his credit. Additionally, a head of the foreign affairs ministry of a superpower does not simply leave without prior consultations with the head of state or some advance notice to his international partners. The post of foreign minister is too important to permit oneself to indulge in emotional reactions. That is why the disclosed circumstances are somewhat unconvincing. It is true that the head of Soviet diplomacy has been criticized for allowing the empire to collapse, but his reply to his critics was: "How would you have prevented it—with tanks?"

It does not seem that in the present political climate reigning in Moscow—when public opinion is even opposed to the prestigious move of sending a Soviet military contingent to Saudi Arabia (something that Washington would dearly like to see)—the hardliners could count on gaining much support. Thus, the resignation issue was not probably due to anything in the foreign affairs arena and Gorbachev probably did not first hear of the resignation from Shevardnadze's own speech. The resignation of a joint creator of perestroyka is an alarm bell. Freedom and democracy are under threat. Shevardnadze's protest was either directed against Gorbachev's recent shift, or against the people who forced Gorbachev to execute it. The Soviet president has not lost an ally (providing he has not personally changed his line), but has moved him to a different, nongovernmental, much deeper position, from where it will be easier to fight the increasing strength of the hardline wing. Shevardnadze, the former head of the Georgian KGB, will know how to go about it. It is important, however, to see who replaces Shevardnadze at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

If his successor is Yevgeniy Primakov, it will be a clear signal that international policy reasons, especially Middle East policy, played an important role in Shevardnadze's resignation.

Shevardnadze: Protest or Subtle Maneuver?

AU2512155690 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 21 Dec 90 p 5

[Leon Bojko untitled commentary]

[Text] It is highly risky to make any speculations about Eduard Shevardnadze's departure. Even with the present openness in USSR's policies—the greatest policy transparency in this country's history—most of the maneuvers are hidden behind the thick walls of the Kremlin.

It is an accepted fact that the conservatives or reactionaries from the "Soyuz" camp or the "Komunistiy Rossii" group (popularly known as the "Party of Order"), do not like—some even hate—Eduard Shevardnadze (the feeling is mutual). For some time now there is a tangible sign that Gorbachev has been making concessions to the "Party of Order" group. His present political slogans for social and state order, discipline and stabilization, are similar to calls made by all reactionaries throughout the world.

It is obvious that order, stability, and discipline are necessary in every country. The important thing is how one achieves these goals. The "Party of Order" is unequivocal about this. It would like to see a declaration of a state of emergency and the use of force. Thursday's edition of the Soviet Army paper "KRASNAYA ZVEZDA" appeared with a banner headline: "The Time Has Come for Extraordinary Measures." Mikhail Gorbachev himself, has said that he is ready to implement such measures.

It may be that Eduard Shevardnadze's dramatic resignation is a brave protest against the trend in internal policy (Shevardnadze has several times proved that he does not lack personal courage.) It cannot be dismissed that his maneuver is even more subtle than it appears to be, because Shevardnadze would have to go if Ryzhkov's government resigned anyway. A new cabinet would be formed on completely new principles, by the same president. Before that happens, however, the constitution would have to be changed with a two thirds majority. Gorbachev does not have such a majority.

Shevardnadze's departure might be a ploy to allay the fears of the reactionaries and might cause the democrats sufficient worry for them to willingly accept all the changes suggested by the president. (Shevardnadze's appeal to the democrats was quite clear). Such a maneuver has been successfully tried by Gorbachev before.

For Gorbachev, the game has now become very risky indeed. If it does not come off, it may well cost him the presidency. At the congress, Ryzhkov put forward clear proposals for an alternative to perestroyka (and by implication its creator).

Regardless of the motives that lie behind Shevardnadze's decision to depart now, his move means that the congress now finds itself in a situation where it really has to decide on some of the Soviet Union's critical issues.

Shevardnadze Resignation Speech Analyzed

AU2512162590 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Dec 90 pp 1,7

[Jadwiga Butejkis commentary: "Perhaps It Is Too Soon for a Requiem?"]

[Text] So, the main architect of the Soviet Union's new foreign policy is stepping down. Gorbachev's closest

adviser and colleague, the co-author of the policy that has changed the image of the Soviet state in the eyes of the world community is leaving. That policy has, to a large extent, changed the face of the world and has led to the end of the cold war and of the division of the world into two hostile camps that were armed to the teeth.

The man who is stepping down is also someone to whom the countries in our region owe a great deal.

Until the end, he resolutely defended that policy from what had become massed attacks from senior military circles and the party's conservative wing. At the June 28th Communist Party Congress, when he was made the target of a concentrated attack for, as it was put, "our power's loss of the buffer in the form of the fraternal socialist countries," he said that the principles of new thinking and perestroyka cannot be reconciled with the continued subordination of these countries to the USSR. He said that they were completely free to determine their future and that they should not be hindered from doing so. He said that friendship imposed by force only gives rise to dissent and antipathy. Now that relations between the Soviet Union and the former satellites are based on the principle of partnership on an equal footing, the USSR could expect genuine friendship and cooperation from them,.

We know that Eduard Shevardnadze paid for the consistent defense of his policy (at that congress) by being made to leave the party's highest bodies. He did, however, remain head of the Foreign Ministry, and by his later actions in the international arena contributed to a further improvement in relations with the West. This particularly applies to smoothing the way for the peaceful unification of Germany and the manifestation of solidarity in the world campaign against Iraq's act of aggression toward Kuwait.

This most recent move in Shevardnadze's policy can be considered to have been the last straw for the conservative forces in the party and the military. Recently, they launched a general attack against perestroyka and Gorbachev (as we know, since October there have been rumors circulating Moscow about preparations for a military coup), but they chose to attack Eduard Shevardnadze with particular vehemence. Gorbachev still enjoys the protection of being general secretary of the CPSU.

A real witch hunt has started up, with particular hostility being directed at the foreign minister, which has sometimes been combined with threats of his "physical removal." A commentator writing for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA—the same publication that published the letter from the Leningrad teacher Andreyeva when perestroyka began—recently accused Shevardnadze of being "guilty of genocide against the Iraqi people."

Against this background of demagogic accusations and an organized witch hunt against him, Shevardnadze decided to step down. But was that the only reason?

That he chose to announce his resignation at the Thursday, 20 December, session of the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet suggests that it was not. It would indicate there was more to it than acknowledging political defeat and, perhaps, a feeling of wounded pride. It seems to have been prompted by concern about the future of perestroyka.

What Shevardnadze said at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses became a dramatic symbol of protest against granting Gorbachev further extraordinary powers. He appealed to deputies not to approve them, saying that they would lead to the complete incapacitation of the parliament of the parliament, the highest legislative body in the state.

You must not only decide about Gorbachev's future, but also about the future of the entire country.... The country is heading toward dictatorship. He finished by saying that what kind of dictatorship it would be and who would be the dictator is something that nobody knows.

Apparently the silence that reigned throughout all of Shevardnadze's speech turned into a loud ovation when he stepped down from the rostrum (according to the TASS reports).

Does this signify approval? Or was it just passing recognition for a man who had the courage to defend his principles? Finally, perhaps it meant that the hostile atmosphere that had prevailed in the hall initially had been broken and that the democratic forces that had recently yielded ground to the conservatives are once again ready to go into battle to defend the democracy that is now being threatened?

It also is not clear how one should interpret the fact that after criticizing Shevardnadze, Gorbachev refused to accept his resignation? Perhaps it was another tactical maneuver on the part of the president? There are all unanswered questions.

The world is anxiously waiting for further news from Moscow.

ROAD Joins Mazowiecki's Democratic Union

AU2412144990 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 18 Dec 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "ROAD Registered"]

[Text] At a Monday news conference of the Citizens Movement-Democratic Action [ROAD] following the movement's registration as a political party, the ROAD Founding Council declared that ROAD would join Tadeusz Mazowiecki's Democratic Union.

ROAD spoke out in favor of giving a coalitional shape to the Union, and also "expressed a desire to build a joint democratic political party," but added that the ultimate decisions would be made by the ROAD Congress on 26 and 27 January.

"The stance reached by the ROAD Founding Council is a compromise between a desire for ROAD's total absorption by the Union on the one hand, and a desire for the preservation of ROAD's identity on the other," said Senator Zofia Kuratowska. "There was no unequivocal decision either way."

Asked whether the registration of ROAD as a party does not rule out its entry into the Union, Halina Bortnowska said that the decision to register ROAD as a party was made before the creation of the Democratic Union. "We did not want to abandon our intention because we have to have legal status," she said.

It was said that in the parliamentary elections, in which ROAD wants to share mandates with the Democratic Union and Forum of the Democratic Right, ROAD aims at winning more votes for its candidates than Mazowiecki did in the first round of the presidential election.

The new party, referring in its program to the traditions of "Solidarity," wants to win the votes of the intelligentsia, workers, and residents of small towns and rural areas.

Inside ROAD there is also a strong female lobby which intends to present a program that is attractive to women.

Henryk Wujec said ROAD has about 10,000 members. "That is not much, but one has to remember that in the field, only the trade unions are stronger than us."

Asked about the role of Tadeusz Mazowiecki in the Union, Wujec said Mazowiecki is a person around whom politicians are concentrated. "ROAD has its own leaders, such as Frasyniuk and Bujak, the Forum of the Democratic Right has its leaders, and the Democratic Union should also have a spectrum of leaders."

Geremek: OKP Futile in Present Form

PM2412104690 Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 15-16 Dec 90 p 2

[Interview with Deputy Bronislaw Geremek by GAZETA KRAKOWSKA reporter Leslaw Maleszka in Warsaw on 14 December]

[Text] After the Sejm accepted the resignation of the Mazowiecki government, I asked Deputy Bronislaw Geremek to comment on the new situation.

[Maleszka] Do you believe that the position taken by the Citizens Parliamentary Club [OKP] in respect of our first noncommunist government, which has its origins in the Solidarity movement, leaves a lot to be desired?

[Geremek] I would like to state that I was not a party to the OKP declaration and that I do not identify with the OKP position. The declaration, in effect, expresses the futility of continuing with the OKP in its present form. If its formula for political compromise is to result in such colorless and nondescript positions, then it no longer serves any useful function. In the course of the Sejm debate we heard many other statements and comments that were much more meaningful than the OKP statement. In fact, I felt that my own parliamentary party should have come out with the kind of statement that was delivered by the small Social-Christian Union [UChS].

[Maleszka] So do you believe that the deputies and senators who were associated with the Tadeusz Mazowiecki Election Committee—and who are now involved in the creation of the new party, the Democratic Union, should remain in the OKP?

[Geremek] I believe that there is no longer any unity within the OKP and that this fact should be reflected in the OKP's working out a new organizational formula for itself. I have no doubt whatsoever that this is what should happen.

Controversy Surrounds Former King Mihai's Visit

Interior Ministry Calls Visit Illegal

AU2512193690 Paris AFP in English 1917 GMT 25 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, Dec 25 (AFP)—Former King Mihai of Romania arrived late Tuesday in Bucharest but the Interior Ministry said he was in the country illegally. He had come to "pray on the tomb of his ancestors" at Curtea de Arges in central Romania, his daughter Princess Margareta said. The former king, accompanied by his wife, Princess Anne of Bourbon Parma and his youngest daughter Sofia are to leave Romania on Wednesday afternoon, she said.

The Romanian Interior Ministry said the royal family had entered the country "fraudulently." In a communique issued Tuesday evening, the ministry said the family had "no entry visas." It said that when the family arrived "at the border (at the airport) they deposited their passports and crossed the border without waiting for the legal decision of the border police." "This has put them in an illegal situation," the communique said.

Princess Margareta arrived last Thursday in Bucharest and will leave on January 4. The former king, who lives in exile in western Switzerland, tried to return to Romania on April 12 for Easter but was refused entry at the last minute although he had an entry visa.

Romanian authorities at the time said they were concerned with the effect the ex-king's visit could have on the country's stability just before elections on May 20. Prime Minister Petre Roman said the former monarch's proposed visit would be "a political act."

Interior Ministry Issues Communique

AU2512203290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 25 Dec 90

[Text] A communique from the Ministry of Interior [words indistinct]: Today, at 1816 hours, a private airplane carrying former King Mihai, accompanied by his wife and one of his daughters, landed at Otopeni Airport. The three did not have an entry visa. At the border they deposited their passports and crossed (?the border), without waiting for the legal decision of the border police. This has put them in an illegal situation, by having crossed Romania's state borders, and exposed them to legal (?action)—states the communique of the Press Bureau of the Ministry of Interior. (?When) we have more details, we will come back with further details.

Before this communique, we received a news item from AFP according to which former King Mihai of Romania [words indistinct]. ...former sovereign, who lives in [word indistinct], Switzerland, there are (?no) details about the length of his visit.

TV Broadcasts Former King's Arrival

AU2512211690 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2100 GMT 25 Dec 90

[Text] Some 20 minutes ago, the Romanian Television broadcast shots of the arrival in our country of former King Mihai, who is accompanied by his wife and one of his daughters. As we announced, we recall that former King Mihai arrived at 1816 hours [1616 GMT] in a private airplane which landed at Bucharest-Otopeni Airport.

A communique from the Press Bureau of the Ministry of Interior mentioned that former King Mihai, his wife, and his daughter did not have a Romanian entry visa. We are told that this visa is issued only by the relevant authorities. Further details [will be made available], as we get them, in our future news bulletins.

King's Entourage Denies Visas Lacking

AU2512214390 Paris AFP in English 2035 GMT 25 Dec 90

[Excerpts] Bucharest, Dec 25 (AFP)—Former King Mihai of Romania arrived Tuesday in Bucharest after more than 40 years of exile, but the Interior Ministry said he was in the country illegally. [passage omitted]

A person of the king's entourage at Bucharest airport two hours before the royal family arrived said they were "waiting for the passports," but gave no other details. [passage omitted]

Princess Margareta said her father would leave Bucharest Tuesday evening for Curtea de Arges, 200 kilometres (138 miles) north of Bucharest and that he would leave the country on Wednesday afternoon. On December 21 Princess Margareta appeared on the balcony of the Intercontinental hotel which looks over University Square during a meeting organized by Civic Alliance, the unofficial opposition, to commemorate the first anniversary of the revolution .

Demonstrators shouted "King Mihai, King Mihai" and "(President Ion) Iliescu go, King Mihai is coming" when one of the speakers announced "Princess Margareta is greeting the demonstrators from the balcony of her hotel room and expresses her compassion to the victims." [passage omitted]

The entourage of the former king said the family had obtained entry visas. They said authorities issued visas at the airport but then asked for the passports back to stamp them. The family gave the passports and left, leaving a member of the entourage to get them, a member of the former king's entourage said. He said the authorities wanted the "owners of the passports" to come pick them up but that the family wanted a document stating that the passports were being held.

King, Family Flown Out by Military Plane

AU2612074690 Paris AFP in English 0612 GMT 26 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, Dec 26 (AFP)—Romania's exiled former monarch was flown out of the country in a military aircraft early on Wednesday [26 December], less than 12 hours after he arrived back unannounced from more than 40 years in exile.

Colonel Vasile Tolontan, head of the border police at Bucharest airport, said an Antonov 24 jet bearing the former ruler, his wife and youngest daughter was headed for Switzerland. The three had arrived in Bucharest on Christmas Day in a private plane.

On arrival, the former king's party was let through customs and allowed to leave by car for the family tomb at Curtea de Arges, about 150 kilometers (93 miles) north of here. Officials at the airport, however, retained their passports. Two hours after their arrival, the Interior Ministry announced that the former monarch and his family had entered Romanian territory illegally.

In the early hours of Wednesday Mihai, 69, and his party were intercepted on the road to Curtea de Arges and brought back to the airport under police escort. Shortly before he and his party were flown out, the former king told reporters that he would not agree to be expelled. "I am amazed and I do not understand why I am not allowed to visit the tomb of my ancestors," he said.

His eldest daughter Margareta, who arrived here last week and has not been prevented from staying, was not on the plane back to Switzerland with her parents and sister. The Swiss private plane which had brought the former king and his party here on Tuesday was left standing on the runway.

Romanian radio, quoting the Interior Ministry, earlier said that Mihai and his party had been asked to leave the country, as they had entered "without legal visas and without warning the authorities of the visit." Danielle Maillefer, a spokeswoman for the former king, said however that Mihai's eldest daughter had informed Prime Minister Petre Roman in advance of her father's travel plans.

Ms. Maillefer said that the prime minister, while strongly advising against the visit, had not explicitly forbidden it. Romanian civil aviation authorities, cited by the official news agency ROMPRES, said they had received a request from a private airline in Geneva to land a group of businessmen earlier this week. They said the list of passengers, relayed by phone to border police, was fictive.

Mihai, 69, was forced to abdicate on December 30, 1947 and has been living in exile in Switzerland. He tried to return to Romania last April but was refused entry at the last minute. The king arrived Tuesday with his wife, Princess Anne of Bourbon Parma and his youngest daughter Sofia. Margareta, who has been in Romania since last Thursday, said she intended to stay until January 4. Margareta appeared last week on the balcony of the Intercontinental Hotel in downtown Bucharest during a meeting organized by Civic Alliance, the unofficial opposition, to commemorate the first anniversary of the revolution .

Demonstrators shouted "King Mihai, King Mihai" and "Iliescu go, King Mihai is coming," referring to President Ion Iliescu.

Civic Alliance, founded on November 7, suggested at its first national conference on December 15 that Romania hold a referendum to see if it should become a constitutional monarchy, a presidential republic, or a parliamentary republic. The party put the proposal to Mr. Iliescu on December 19 together with a proposal for the formation of a transitional government made up of independent politicians.

Radio Reports Expulsion

AU2612094090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0800 GMT 26 Dec 90

[Text] As announced, former King Mihai left Romania today, at 0543 [0343 GMT]. He left in an Antonov 24 military plane belonging to the Romanian Airlines.

According to a statement made by a member of his entourage, Mr. Constantin Brancoveanu, former King Mihai arrived on a private visit to go on a pilgrimage to the Curtea de Arges Monastery, where the graves of his ancestors are located. He arrived on Tuesday, in the afternoon, in a private plane, together with his wife Anne de Bourbon Parma and his daughter Sofia.

A communique released by the Press Bureau of the Ministry of Interior mentions that the authorized organs asked former King Mihai to leave Romania because he entered the country without a legal visa and without notifying the Romanian authorities about his arrival. According to a statement made to ROMPRES by General Valeriu Rozoleanu, head of the General Passport Department, former King Mihai and his wife entered illegally and forced the border crossing by ignoring the pleas of the border checkpoint employees.

From Otopeni Airport, the former King and his family left for Curtea de Arges in the cars waiting for them. Mr. Constantin Brancoveanu said that, near Pitesti, the cars were stopped by the police and forced to turn back to Otopeni.

On the other hand, Mrs. Simina Mezincescu added that Princess Margareta, who has been in Romania since 20 December, informed Prime Minister Petre Roman about her father's intention to come to Romania for a short private visit and a mass at Curtea de Arges. Had he been allowed in, no one would have learned about it, because he would have gone directly from Otopeni Airport to Curtea de Arges for a mass on Wednesday morning, after which we would have returned to Otopeni Airport.

The visit by the former sovereign of Romania lasted only 11 hours and 27 minutes. In a statement made to the ROMPRES agency, the former King said: I am very surprised by what is happening here, that I cannot come, not even on Christmas, for a mass at the graves of my grandparents. Even this is not permitted? These is very hard to understand.

At 0734, the Swiss plane in which former King Mihai arrived in our country took off from Otopeni Airport.

From the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, we received a few details about former King Mihai's intention to visit Romania: At the airport, the former Romanian sovereign presented a diplomatic passport issued by Danish authorities. There is a consular agreement between Romania and Denmark on mutual renunciation of visas, but the Danish side has recently suspended its implementation. Consequently, the Romanian side applied the principle of reciprocity. Romanian citizens with diplomatic passports need a Danish visa and all holders of Danish diplomatic passports require a Romanian visa.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs had no knowledge whatsoever of the former King's intention to come to Romania. No application for such a visa was made at any Romanian diplomatic or consular office.

In conclusion, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs states, the former King and his family members did not have the necessary visas to legally enter Romania.

Government Spokesman Queried on Visit

AU2612141290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1130 GMT 26 Dec 90

[Interview with Bogdan Baltazar, government spokesman and state secretary, by Reporter Grigoriu in Bucharest on 26 December—recorded]

[Summary From Poor Reception] [Grigoriu] "This morning we talked to government spokesman Mr. Bogdan Baltazar."

"We have come to you Mr. Bogdan Baltazar, you who are state secretary and spokesman for the prime minister, to jointly discuss an issue which has caused some sensation beginning yesterday. I am talking about the visit of Romania's former sovereign to Bucharest and surroundings." There are a number of speculations "in connection with the nature of this visit. Has this visit been announced or not?"

[Baltazar] "First, I want to say that this visit was completely illegal." That is, beginning with the overflight for the "private plane with Romania's former king, together with his wife and one of his daughters, aboard—an overflight that was requested for fictitious names—thus an overflight that began with a lie. The visit continued to be illegal because of the fact that Mihai of Hohenzollern, his wife, his daughter, and the other people did not hold entry visas to Romania, a permit which any sovereign state is able to "grant or not grant to the guests it wants to welcome or not." Furthermore, I would like "to stress the fact that Romania's former king arrived with a Danish diplomatic passport." In the case of Romania and Denmark "entry visas to Romania are compulsory for diplomatic passports." So, "let us sum up." "An entry visa did not exist and Mihai of Hohenzollern, together with his entourage, forced—so to say—his way through Romania's state border and entered the country, without having permission to do so."

[Grigoriu] "You did not say anything about the nature of the visit. Were the Romanian authorities informed or not? Did they know about the imminence of this visit beforehand?"

[Baltazar] "No. The Romanian authorities did not know about the imminence of this visit. Actually, there was talk that the sovereign wanted to come to Romania. There was no notification in this respect, however, except that yesterday afternoon a closed envelope was opened at the Council of Ministers, without any heading and without any urgent sign, that was addressed to the prime minister, an envelope which was opened after Romania's former sovereign landed. The letter was opened two hours after the landing; the prime minister was not in Bucharest and there was no indication that this was an urgent message. Inside the envelope there was a letter which one of Mihai of Hohenzollern's daughters had sent to the prime minister arrogantly informing him that Romania's former king had decided to travel to Romania. Obviously we cannot view this as a notification, we can view it as a sign of the continuing contempt which this family has, actually, always shown toward our people, whom this family has never respected and whom it does not respect to this day."

[Grigoriu] "Tell me, what was the reaction of the Romanian authorities to this visit."

[Baltazar] "In our view, the reaction at the airport was a reaction of weakness when normally such people, who do not hold appropriate documents, that is an entry visa to our country, should not have been allowed to enter the country. This entry visa for diplomatic passports, that is a diplomatic visa, can be granted only by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or by the diplomatic and consular missions of our country abroad. No such foreign or consular mission had issued a visa for the diplomatic passports of the former king and his family. The king, therefore, forced [his way across] Romania's state border. Romania's king, so to say, forced [his way across] Romania's state border, thereby placing himself outside the law through this action. He left the passports at the border checkpoint and went to solve the problems for which he had come and which—obviously his entire action aimed at trite sensation—prove that this was not a clean visit—were not inspired by pure thoughts. This was a visit which was designed, perhaps objectively, to disturb these people even on their most sacred day, Christmas."

[Grigoriu] "Does the authority you represent and on behalf of which you are talking through this microphone—under normal conditions—approve such a visit? By normal conditions I mean visa, overflight, and announcement beforehand."

[Baltazar] "Normally, any holder of a valid passport of a country with which we maintain diplomatic relations may request an entry visa which in fact is an approval for entering our country which any sovereign state" grants "without any kind of pressure, without a status quo policy, and without violation of the border." "It seems to me that, in principle, there is no objection to the entry of foreign citizens, who have not been declared undesirable, but now or in a month or a year any such entry has to take place strictly in accordance with the laws of this country. Those who do not respect these laws place themselves outside these laws and only complicate something that can be solved in a civilized way through respecting the legally established authorities of this country. They cannot be solved through contempt for these authorities and contempt for people, who do not need such an instigation and who do not need such an artificial disturbance at a time when, I repeat, all of us—you, I, and all the others—are celebrating Christmas in peace and quiet."

[Grigoriu] "Esteemed listeners, these are the facts, seen and judged from a different point of view. In the hope that all those who have listened to us will draw correct and impartial conclusions on this visit that has stirred and—we suppose—will stir a number of comments, we also want to inform you that also today, more precisely at 1035, the Romanian plane with Romania's ex-sovereign, his wife, and daughter aboard landed in Zurich."

Mihai: Authorities 'Afraid of Everything'

AU2612131390 Paris AFP in English 1300 GMT 26 Dec 90

[Text] Geneva, Dec 26 (AFP)—The Romanian authorities expelled ex-king Mihai shortly after his return from 40 years of exile "because they are afraid of everything that happens", he said here Wednesday [26 December] after being flown back to Switzerland aboard a Romanian military plane.

He denied allegations that he entered the country dishonestly. Visas had been stamped in his party's Danish diplomatic passports in the normal way on arrival at Bucharest airport, he said.

The former monarch, his wife Anne of Bourbon Parma and their youngest daughter Sophie flew to Romania on Christmas Day in a private plane to visit the family tomb at Curtea De Arges, 150 kilometres (90 miles) from the capital. Their car was intercepted at Pitesti and forced back to the airport under military escort on Tuesday night after the Interior Ministry said the group was in the country illegally.

Members of his staff said he spent the night in the car until the whole party was put aboard a military plane early Wednesday, just 11 hours after arriving. The family lives in exile at Versoix near here.

Democracy National Convention Issues Communique

AU2512180890 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 18 Dec 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Communique of National Convention for the Establishment of Democracy"]

[Text] The National Convention for the Establishment of Democracy was established in Bucharest Saturday, 15 December 1990. The declaration of the formations which initiated it advocates the establishment of a society in Romania that is in keeping with the basic aspirations of the human being, the establishment of truth in the progress of public life, the creation of an atmosphere of solidarity based on understanding, tolerance, dialogue, and nonviolence in the spirit of social harmony, the cultivation of true patriotism as a source of our society's cultural and material prosperity, equality of all citizens before the law, the assertion of human dignity, the reestablishment of the role played by the family, and the achievement of harmony in man's relations with the environment.

The convention is open to any political parties, trade unions, associations, and forums which firmly speak out for democracy and prove—through their activity—that they respect democratic principles. The adherence to the convention has to be unanimously accepted by the initiators.

The signing of the founding declaration took place at the headquarters of the Romanian Social Democratic Party with the participation of all formations represented in the convention—namely (in alphabetical order of the formations):

—Ecologist Movement of Romania: Toma George Maiorescu
—Romanian Ecologist Party: Otto Weber
—National Liberal Party: Radu Campeanu
—National Peasant Christian Democratic Party: Corneliu Coposu
—Romanian Social Democratic Party: Sergiu Cunescu
—Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania: Geza Domokos,
Consultant
—"Alfa" Trade Union Cartel: Dan Mocanescu

Declaration, Principles Given

AU2512181890 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 18 Dec 90 pp 1,2

[Unattributed report: "Declaration" of National Convention for the Establishment of Democracy]

[Text] Today Romania is going through a difficult stage of its history.

During the glorious days of December 1989, the Romanian people headed by youth gave proof of their courage and—with great sacrifices—were able to overthrow the clique of the communist dictatorship.

Unfortunately, in the time that has elapsed since those events, our country's hopes have been shattered, enthusiasm has died down, discouragement has spread among our people, and Romania's prestige in the world has collapsed. This situation can be blamed on certain known or obscure forces which have systematically acted to split the nation to acquire absolute power and preserve the former structures.

Throughout this period, the democratic forces in our country have been struggling to establish and strengthen freedoms, social justice, to eliminate privileges, and to achieve solidarity, while other forces try to suppress freedoms, maintain privileges, and to set the Romanian society at variance.

The control over certain mass media, primarily television, has permitted the antidemocratic forces to deceive our country's honest-minded people, who—after a dictatorship that lasted almost half a century—lost the practices of democracy. Thus the historic paradoxical situation exists that today the important figures of the state leadership, the Parliament, the government, and the administration in Romania—where a genuine anticommunist revolution took place—are people coming from the communist nomenklatura and "aristocracy."

This situation has led to our country's current economic, political, moral, and social crisis which is accentuating and will inevitably cause inflation, unemployment, and will, consequently, lead to massive emigration, primarily by qualified young people.

Fortunately, the people are gradually understanding our country's situation and aspire to genuine democracy.

The evolution toward democracy has to be supported and guided, while any kind of extremist tendencies or practices have to exposed and thwarted.

At this point, there are political, cultural, and professional forces which are firmly involved in the struggle for the country's democratization. They are pursuing—at various levels—the same ideals, although—from a programmatic point of view—they adopt some solutions and ways of solving things of their own. The things that unite them, however, are stronger than those that separate them. We, therefore, believe that we have reached a crucial point when an orchestration of all these forces is needed to establish democracy in the shortest possible time by eliminating the social tension inherent in this process.

The formations that have initiated this document have decided to form a "National Convention for the Establishment of Democracy" at the national level. This convention proposes to define certain principles which are to guide the attitudes and actions regarding the main problems of the Romanian society and to prepare solutions for solving these problems.

The formations that have signed this "Convention" will preserve their own programmatic and organizational independence. They will work on the basis of consultations and pledge to brief each other and to cooperate to effectively achieve the said principles in both the public activity and in the parliamentary one.

The daily link between the participating formations will be achieved through a group of consultants.

Important decisions will be made by the leaders of the formations making up the "Convention."

The "Convention" is open to any political parties, trade unions, associations, and forums which firmly advocate democracy and—through their activity—prove that they respect democratic principles. The adherence to the Convention has to be unanimously accepted by the initiators.

The initiators of the "Convention" will base their entire activity on the following PRINCIPLES:

1. The establishment in Romania of a society that will be in keeping with the basic aspirations for dignity, freedom, equality of rights, solidarity, responsibility, and well-being of the human being, as they have been established in the awareness of mankind and as they have been sanctioned by the great INTERNATIONAL CHARTERS.

2. Establishing truth at all levels in public life and establishing honesty in political actions as a condition required for the development of the Romanian society.

3. Creating an atmosphere of human solidarity based on understanding, tolerance, dialogue, and nonviolence to bring about social harmony.

4. Proclaiming the human being as the supreme goal of all actions in society, so that the potential of creativity of each individual may manifest itself in an unhampered way to his benefit and the benefit of society in general.

5. Protecting the disfavored, old, sick, and handicapped people by law.

6. Ensuring the right to personal property and recognizing its social usefulness as a guarantee for freedom and dignity; ensuring economic freedom—the generator of national wealth.

7. Giving priority to civilian society as compared with the state; the state apparatus has to be just a means by which civilian society achieves its correct operation.

8. Cultivating true patriotism, a source of cultural and material prosperity of our society; combating totalitarian

tendencies toward monopolizing and identifying patriotism with the ideas, actions, and interests of certain groups.

9. Establishing the order of law and equality for all citizens before the law, irrespective of sex, nationality, creed, and convictions; ensuring and guaranteeing the individual and collective rights of ethnic minorities.

10. Asserting dignity and recovering the role of the family as a social, educational, and moral unit of society. Cultivating respect and concern for the mother and child.

11. Protecting nature and restoring the ecological balance—a irreplaceable condition for the development of life on earth.

Harmonizing the relationship between man and environment.

We are convinced that through the endorsement of these principles, our country will re-enter the mainstream of its moral, cultural, and political traditions and will be able to integrate—with its personality—into a united Europe that is rising at the horizon of the next millennium, determined to continue the great civilization that unites us.

Guided by the aforementioned principles, the "Convention" will draw up and publish programs of action aimed at achieving its aspirations.

Within their framework, an objective of great significance is cooperation among the democratic forces in order to appoint the most competent and honest citizens as candidates for the election of local bodies, thus ensuring our country's democratic administration from the foundation.

TU Leader Wants 'Efficient Social Security'

AU2412172590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1636 GMT 24 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/12/1990—One year after the December revolution we express our belief that the claims and problems of any kind must and can be settled through real negotiations which should be held with sincerity as well as with firmness on the basis of arguments, reason and actual and exact knowledge of the situation in the country, stated on the TV Mr. Victor Ciorbea, chairman of the National Free Trade Unions Confederation of Romania.

The presidium of our confederation follows with special attention the fulfilment of what was agreed upon on December 10 during the talks with the government and, especially, the government's undertaking of the due measures to prevent the increase of prices in the economy and to ensure most efficient social security.

Report on Foreign Policy Guidelines Released

AU2212201790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1831 GMT 22 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/12/1990—Romania's Foreign Affairs Ministry issued a white paper on the new ideas, principles and aims the Romanian state and government pursued in their international activity after the December 1989 revolution, with the stress falling on the ministry's activity in the second half of 1990.

The white paper outlines the new outlook in which national interest, international law, new political thinking and wide openness to the world have been the basis of the Romanian diplomacy since the revolution, stressing that Romania's international action "aims to bring Romania into the great processes and tendencies in Europe and the world."

A separate chapter deals with Romania's bilateral relations: It underlines the overriding importance of resuming and expanding its traditional links with the European states, especially with its neighbours, for it to take an active part in shaping the new political architecture of the continent, which is shown also by the attention paid to the CSCE process, to Balkan cooperation, to the expansion and diversification of its relations with the Common Market and other European organisms.

Insofar as the relations with other states are concerned, the paper brings out in bold relief such aspects as the promotion of friendship and cooperation in various fields, with all countries on all continents, the resumption of the relations with the Holy See, the establishment of diplomatic relations with South Korea and other states, and the setting right of abnormal situations in the bilateral relations that had been inherited from dictatorship.

The white paper redefines Romania's participation in multilateral diplomacy through the United Nations and other international organisations and conferences, and shows that after the revolution, Romanian positions and the style of Romanian diplomacy at the United Nations have changed substantially, in a departure from an inflexible militancy to a flexible, realistic and pragmatic approach to the key problems of the contemporary world such as the peaceful settlement of conflicts, nuclear and conventional disarmament, the resolution of underdevelopment problems, regional security and peace, and above all the observance of human rights, an important problem .

A chapter apart deals with the new Foreign Ministry personnel policy, both at the centre and at the diplomatic, consular or other offices abroad.

"With a deep understanding of the commandments of the present times," the white paper says "the Foreign Affairs Ministry, the central administration and the diplomatic missions have made it their steady concern to adjust to the modern, dynamic style of the government, to find the best ways and methods to contribute to the

democratisation of Romanian society, to the promotion of the interests of the country, for the image of Romania abroad to be as faithful as this is possible."

Expert on Role of Planning in Market Economy

AU2212182690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1538 GMT 22 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/12/1990—It would be absurd to make "a reform for reform's sake," it would be absurd for privatization to be an end not a means on the road to a market economy and for price liberalization to be criticized or approved of other than for its effects in time," Mircea Cosea, general manager of the Economic Prognosis and Planning Commission, said in an interview with weekly "TRIBUNA ECONOMICA" ["ECONOMIC TRIBUNE"]. Day-by-day application of the economic reform calls for continuous evaluation and readjustment," he said, but "we need a horizon," an end for the actions we undertake, more specifically "a desired and attainable horizon," a credibility of the reform we have started.

After so many decades of "single national plan," the author notices, we are witnessing "an allergic reaction of rejection of the very notion of planning and prognosis." Planning in the former period was designed to support not its economy but its ideology, through autocratic and administrative methods. Which does not mean that everything that was bad for us is bad in general. "We shall have to admit," the author opines, "that planning is not the exclusive attribute of communist economy," actually "planning and prognosis are obviously factors of a normal economic process." It is natural for economic agents to be vitally interested to have advanced knowledge of the evolution or involution and of the possibilities to influence it. That is why "all democratic and advanced economies are using the instruments of planning and prognosis." What must be underlined about the "allergy to planning" we still suffer from is that "to plan does not mean to force but to guide," Mircea Cosea says. For that reason, planning must exclude "tasks" and economic guidance must operate exclusively through economic incentives. In that process the planning and prognosis activity must allow economic agents to act more knowledgeably and competently in national and international economic environments both for medium and long term. Prognosis should eventually ensure both the switch to a market economy and its stability. It is to such ends that the national economic prognosis and planning commission is acting, the general manager of that important body underlined.

CADA Refutes 'Unfounded, Unreal' Accusations

AU2312151290 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 18 Dec 90 p 5

["Note" from the Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army: "Unfounded and Provocative Accusations"; place and date not given]

[Text] Following a most serious attempt at destabilization, masked under the signature of a so-called "Patriotic Group" supported by daily ADEVARUL—which, in its 14 December 1990 issues, prints the irresponsible article "Attention"—the members of the Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army [CADA] declare:

1. The accusations brought against this body are unfounded, unreal, and deeply provocative; their sole aim is to slander the CADA members and their patriotic action.

2. We reiterate the view that the demands included in our 12 February 1990 appeal as well as all other CADA initiatives presented to the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense, the government, the Parliament, and the country's president should be fully implemented.

3. The Army's mission is not to fire on its own people.

4. We demand the official recognition of CADA by the Parliament.

5. We demand the moral and professional rehabilitation of all CADA members and the reactivation of military cadres abusively sent into retirement.

As Romanian citizens we are obligated, together with all the people, to strive for a truly democratic, sovereign, and independent state where the law prevails. That is why we assure the country and the nation that we will further struggle to achieve these holy requirements, even if we have to make the supreme sacrifice. So help us God.

Foreign Minister Departs for Egypt 25 Dec

AU2512165990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1554 GMT 25 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/12/1990—Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase left Tuesday morning for a two-day official visit to Cairo.

In a statement he made to the national news agency "ROMPRES" the Romanian foreign minister said he would approach with his Egyptian counterpart, Mr. Ahmad 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid, the aggregate of bilateral relations from the angle of defining new ways to develop them in the new conditions created after the Romanian revolution of December 1989, of Romania's commitment to the path of democracy and political pluralism and its transition to the market economy.

We shall also discuss a number of international issues of mutual interest like the Gulf crisis which holds a highly important place, the fact being known that both Romania and Egypt are deeply affected by the current situation in the area.

Upon his arrival at the airport in Cairo the Romanian foreign minister mentioned in a brief statement he brought a message from President Iliescu to President Husni Mubarak.

Loncar Warns Breakup of SFRY 'Fatal'

LD2412150990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1131 GMT 24 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Dec (TANJUG)—"Yugoslavia must remain a single entity and resolve all its internal disputes through democratic agreement. The disintegration of Yugoslavia would be a fatal outcome for the Yugoslav nations, and at the same time it would be detrimental to and dangerous for the present phase of development of Europe".

This was stated by Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar in his interview to VREME in which he gave a summary of his impressions from his two-day visit to Brussels where he headed the Yugoslav delegation at the annual session of the Council for Cooperation between Yugoslavia and the European Community.

Asked about readiness of the European Community to support the territorial integrity of a united Yugoslavia, the Yugoslav foreign minister said:

"Looking at Yugoslavia from outside, from the position of rational interests, above all as a partner and constructive factor within European development, the community advises Yugoslavia, its nations and their legally elected representatives to reach an agreement in a democratic way on the form of their coexistence which would be suitable to all concerned..."

"The 12 maintain that it is possible to find solutions in Yugoslavia that would be suitable both to the European Community and to the whole of the Old Continent in the present framework of a radical transformation of Europe," Loncar added.

Recalling the development of relations between European Community and Yugoslavia, Loncar stressed that it had passed through several phases. The first phase was initiated some 20 years ago when official relations were established. Ten years later the relations assumed a new framework by signing an agreement on cooperation. Two years ago, relations were given a fresh impetus by the Declaration on Political Cooperation which also anticipated the development of the community as a key factor not only in economic, but also in the political sphere. Finally, last year, Yugoslavia presented its candidacy for membership in the European Community.

"Today we find ourselves in a phase whereby both sides are giving a fresh impetus to the process of gradual rapprochement. Now we should materialize this agreement in the shortest period," Loncar stated in his interview to VREME.

Jovic Sends Greetings Message to YPA

LD2112193190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1614 GMT 21 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Dec (TANJUG)—Dr. Borisav Jovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, has sent a message of greetings to members of the armed forces on the occasion of Army Day, 22 December.

"On behalf of the SFRY Presidency, the highest organizing and commanding organ of the SFRY armed forces, and on my own behalf, I congratulate all members of the armed forces on the all-people's holiday—22 December, Yugoslav People's Army Day. With your words and deeds you have demonstrated how one should preserve the reputation and dignity of our homeland, defend the country's independence and integrity, and help citizens in trouble. The problems with which we are faced are great, the barriers we face on our way to stable and democratic life are numerous and complex, but not unsurmountable. In such conditions the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] has remained united, displaying moral strength and combat readiness, as well as loyalty to a united Yugoslavia, freedom and peace of its every citizen, and ability to successfully defend these values. For this reason the citizens see it as a guarantee of the peaceful and democratic development of the SFRY.

The SFRY Presidency pays tribute to the YPA and all the members of our armed forces for their responsible execution of the duties established by the Constitution, for the high degree of morality, and their sufficient degree of readiness. The SFRY Presidency rests assured that the YPA will continue to carry out its future tasks honorably and responsibly, in the interest of all nations and citizens of the SFRY," reads Borisav Jovic's message of greetings. [quotation marks as received]

Defense Secretariat on Army Activities in Kosovo

AU2512202090 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Dec 90

[Text] There can be no mention of the authority of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense being exceeded in the case of the help of the Yugoslav People's Army given to the organs of the Kosovo Internal Affairs.

The Army's help to the organs of the internal affairs of the province and Serbia and to the combined unit of the federal militia in Kosovo was given under the conditions of an extraordinary situation when the units of the Yugoslav People's Army also participated in the activities on this territory according to the SFRY Presidency's decision.

When the Presidency decided to lift the extraordinary measures, Serbia took over the responsibility for the situation in the province, and that enabled the units of the Yugoslav People's Army to stop performing their former tasks and resume regular training.

The situation in Kosovo was calling the integrity of Yugoslavia in question, so (?temporary) help in preventing this danger represented an expression of [word indistinct] of the national defense.

This is the reply of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense to the question asked by Assembly delegate (?Ali

Zeneji) about the assessments on the basis of which army resources were put at the disposal of the republican organs.

Ljubovija Strikers Threaten To Destroy Mine

LD2512152790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1414 GMT 25 Dec 90

[Text] Ljubovija, 25 Dec (TANJUG)—Workers at the Veliki Majdan lead and zinc mine, near Ljubovija, informed the mine's management at about 1400 hours [1300 GMT] today that they would begin to destroy the mine's facilities with explosives unless representatives of the republic, who should have talks with the strikers, appear during the day.

Sixty miners on hunger strike were in the pits of this mine for the last 30 hours, demanding the payment of income earned in November and bonuses over the past two months.

Slovene Voters Choose Independence, Autonomy

LD2612113890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1411 GMT 26 Dec 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 26 Dec (TANJUG)—According to details announced today at a news conference by the Republican Electoral Commission, 88.5 percent of the electorate voted in the plebiscite for Slovenia to be an independent and autonomous state.

At 4,143 polling stations, 1,361,738 voters cast their vote, representing 93.5 percent of the electorate. Around four percent, or 57,800 voters, voted against, while only 0.5 percent of ballot papers were invalid.

According to the Republican Electoral Commission Chairman Marko Golobic, irregularities that would have influenced final plebiscite results were not uncovered in the process of establishing the results of voting.

Commentary Views Plebiscite

AU2212215190 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 22 Dec 90

[Olivija Rusovac commentary]

[Text] The 72 years spent in the joint state cannot be discarded with a cool goodbye at a plebiscite, even though some reasons that led to this could not be completely ignored. Can the doors be slammed on the joint state because of the several months-long blockade of the Slovene market, or because of the attempts, as the Slovenes say, to export the anti-bureaucratic revolution to this republic?

If one collected all the acts that could have driven Slovenes toward independence, there would have never been enough of them to justify the destruction of the country.

The president of the Slovene Assembly refused to attend the session of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly because he does not recognize federal institutions. Slovenia wants to secede but claims that Yugoslavia no longer exists. At the same time the assembly of this republic is ready to finance some functions of the federal state until a future agreement is reached on its spheres of competence.

Milan Kucan, president of the Presidency of Slovenia, stated that in the future, Slovenia will have to transfer part of the republic's sovereignty to European institutions if it wants to belong to them. Yet here in Yugoslavia, Slovenia does not want to accept the federal elections, denies the existence of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, and does not want to accept the fact that by joining Yugoslavia the republics have transferred some of their rights to the federation. Slovenia, as its leaderships explains, can only hold talks with the republics.

On the other side of this separatist and chaotic policy is the federal parliament. The delegates are trying to supplement the belated reaction of the federal parliament to all phenomena in the republics that are undermining Yugoslavia in two ways. First, those delegates who think that the Yugoslav problem can still be resolved in a democratic way most often talk about a declaration on future relations in Yugoslavia and negotiations. Second, in the federal parliament there are, however, quite a number of representatives of the republics who are placing emphasis on the Army and drawing attention to its constitutional duty.

At the same time all republics want to be part of Europe. This is also the wish of Yugoslavia as a whole. Will Europe want to accept a republic that is not ready to talk with the organs of its own federal state, and how will Europe trust the republic to transfer part of its sovereignty to European institutions when it does not want to do it in Yugoslavia? Moreover, how acceptable for Europe are the republics in which those who are quickly turning to the Army to solve problems are very vociferous? Finally, the Yugoslavia that would survive with the help of the army would not be any closer to Europe.

It is difficult to believe that Europe will accept us with all our luggage with its obsolete contents because this Europe is ruled by a spirit of rapprochement and not separatism, by a spirit of peace and not militancy.

FEC Assumes Military Duties in Slovenia

LD2412124790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 24 Dec 90

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 24 Dec (TANJUG)—The Federal Executive Council [FEC] has adopted a decision to take over certain military responsibilities in Slovenia, because the republican organs have not been carrying these out in keeping with federal law. The FEC has also initiated proceedings to assess the constitutionality of the constitutions of several republics that it believes are

in contravention of the SFRY Constitution, and because of the violation of several laws and other regulations in the field of national defense, it will embark upon an assessment of the constitutionality and legality of these republican and provincial regulations.

This is stressed in an FEC reply to a supplementary question from Radivoj Scekic, a delegate in the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber, who is interested in what the federal government can and what it must do to prevent the breakup of the Yugoslav People's Army and the system of all-people's defense. The reply also said that the FEC will propose to the SFRY Assembly that it change and amend, in accordance with urgent procedure, the law on military duty and the law on all-people's defense for the purpose of the more effective functioning of this system.

As regards the possibilities of the federal government in the field of all-people's defense, the reply specified that the FEC is responsible for the implementation of the country's defense policies and for implementation of the preparations for defense. In accordance with this, the FEC can draw the attention of the executive councils of the republics and autonomous provinces to their obligations to carry out matters within their competence in this field. If they do not do this, the FEC can propose, through the SFRY Assembly, that the republican assemblies raise the question of the responsibility of the competent organ or of the official controlling this organ. Finally, if the execution of federal laws cannot be ensured by these measures, the FEC will directly ensure their implementation, the reply said.

To a question from delegate Vaso Djukanovic to the FEC president, "on what his statement, that the Assembly of Serbia and the Assembly of Vojvodina blocked the adoption of the rebalancing of the federal budget, is based," the FEC gives a detailed reply in which it says that the "blockade" was begun by the Assembly of Vojvodina and that it was also joined by delegates in the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces from Serbia.

Everything began, the reply said, in June when the Assembly of Vojvodina, the only one out of all of them, did not give its consent to the draft of several documents which the FEC sent to the SFRY Assembly as "accompanying documents" to the draft law on the rebalancing of the federal budget for this year. The delegation of Vojvodina in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces requested that the problems of agriculture be resolved first, and that only afterwards the coordination of stances on the proposed documents be initiated. [passage omitted]

Socialists Win Majority in Serbian Assembly

LD2412190990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1828 GMT 24 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Dec (TANJUG)—The Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] has already secured 144 seats in parliament and thus has won a majority in the People's Assembly of Serbia in the first post-war multiparty elections. However, results from only 97 out of 154 election units where the second round of voting took place are available at the moment.

SPS candidates have won 57 more seats in parliament, the United opposition 36, and groups of citizens four seats. The Republican Commission is still processing data for the remaining 57 election units which have not yet been processed.

Altogether, in the first and the second rounds of voting, the united opposition won 45 seats and groups of citizens four seats in parliament.

The SPS is also in the lead in Belgrade, with ten seats in parliament. The Serbian Renaissance Movement has eight deputies, the Democratic Party seven, and the Party of Yugoslavs one. Together with the results from the first round of voting, it means that in Belgrade the SPS has secured 23 seats in parliament, while the oppositon parties have secured only 16. In Belgrade, however, there are still four election units to be processed.

'Final Results' Reported

AU2512152890 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Dec 90

[Momcilo Boskovic report]

[Text] Let us now switch over to the Serbian Assembly building where a news conference is being held on the occasion of the second round of elections in our republic. Our reporter there is Momcilo Boskovic:

[Boskovic] The news conference has just ended. Let us repeat what we heard about the final results announced at the news conference: The Socialist Party of Serbia has had a convincing victory in the first postwar multiparty democratic elections. Out of 250 seats in the future Serbian parliament, this party has won 194. Opposition parties have won 48 seats and independent candidates 8 seats.

Milovan Zivkovic, director of the Republican Statistical Institute, and Zoran Djumic, spokesman of the Republican Electoral Commission, spoke at the news conference. They said that several remarks were also made concerning some weak points during the elections. Most of those remarks were rejected because they involved minor errors, made most probably due to electoral committees' inexperience. Elections should have been repeated at two polling stations, Svilajnac and Mionica, but the Republican Electoral Commission has concluded that even if they are repeated, nothing significant would be changed about the final results.

One of the questions asked at the news conference concerned the turnout in Kosovo in the second round. The answer was that it was 12.72 percent.

At the end of the news conference, a group of journalists said they would like Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to appear at a news conference. Such an invitation has been made before, too. The answer was that the demand will be conveyed to Milosevic again.

This was the report I prepared for our listeners on the news conference that has just ended.

Composition of Parliament Announced

LD2512165990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1523 GMT 25 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Dec (TANJUG)—Final results of the first multiparty elections in Serbia show a landslide victory of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS]. Out of 250 seats in the Serbian People's Assembly, 194 have gone to SPS candidates, while the united opposition and citizens' groups have won 56 seats.

Together with the SPS deputies, the future unicameral People's Assembly will be composed of representatives of 14 parties and groups of citizens. Nineteen seats have been won by candidates of the Serbian Renaissance Movement, eight seats by the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians, eight seats by groups of citizens, seven seats by the Democratic Party, three by the Party of Democratic Action, two seats each by the Alliance of Reformist Forces of Vojvodina and the Party of Serbian Peasants' Union, and one seat each by candidates of the following parties: the Party of Yugoslavs, UJDI [Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative], Social-Democratic Party, National Farmers' Party [Narodna Seljacka Stranka], Democratic Reformist Party of Muslims, Party for Democratic Action, and Democratic Alliance of Croats in Vojvodina.

It was announced at a press conference of the Republican Electoral Commission today that 48.33 percent of the electorate cast their vote in the second round of elections.

Commission Confirms Kosovo Election Results

LD2412145590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1348 GMT 24 Dec 90

[Text] Pristina, 24 Dec (TANJUG)—Results of the second round of elections in Kosovo for deputies to the Serbian parliament are already known. According to details of the provincial headquarters for monitoring the elections, 26 candidates for the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] were elected in the second round, three candidates for the Citizens' Group, and one representative for the Democratic Reformist Party of Muslims of Prizren.

Together with the four candidates elected in the first round, the SPS will have 30 deputies to the Serbian Assembly from Kosovo and Metohija. According to a statement by the Secretary of the provincial headquarters for monitoring the elections, Vukica Andric, the second round of elections in Kosovo and Metohija took place without incident.

Montenegrin Election Winners Accused of Purge

AU2212231590 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 15 Dec 90 p 5

[Slobodan Rackovic report: "Journalists Are the Target"]

[Text] Titograd, 12 Dec—The fears that the old-new authorities in Montenegro will resort to the repression of those who do not share the same political views have unfortunately turned out to be justified. Like in Slovenia and Croatia, journalists were the first target. So, for instance, last night in the city center, in the Montenegro Hotel, a group of Yugoslav journalists, particularly the correspondent of this paper from Titograd, were impudently insulted and challenged to a physical showdown. In the end, tired journalists, who had been diligently taking account of everything that was happening for several days in the first multiparty elections in this republic, had their meal interrupted by a group of bullies and were kicked out of the restaurant. What is particularly surprising is the fact that the tone to this vandalism was given by the brother of Milo Djukanovic, leader of the League of Communists of Montenegro, Aco Djukanovic, who himself has been a sociopolitical activist for years. What is also surprising is the fact that Momir Bulatovic, who was in the company of the unruly victors and his supporters for a short period of time, did not try to influence the behavior of Aco Djukanovic and others. Also surprising is the fact that many insults and jokes were made at the expense of Montenegro and the badge with which the reformists entered the preelection campaign read: "100 percent Montenegrin."

After they chased the journalists away, the bullies strongly insulted Dragoslav Joksimovic, director of an independent Montenegrin magazine, KRUG, telling him that in the future he will have to carry a gun. Just like in the western movies.

The night before, five policemen detained in the tavern of the Montenegro Hotel (where Momir Bulatovic and his staff were celebrating a victory until very late in the night) Risto Djogo (he is a correspondent of an independent Montenegrin weekly, MONITOR) only because he recorded the squabble between the communists and the reformists. After he had spent one and a half hours in the police station (until his recording was heard and rerecorded), Djogo was brought back to the hotel some two and one-half hours after midnight, and courteously apologized. Before that, however, in the police station he was promised that he was going to be beaten up. One should also mention the case of Danilo Burzan. Prior to the election of television officials, Momir Bulatovic told him that he was most certainly going to be replaced when Bulatovic assumes power. According to a BORBA correspondent from Titograd, Slavko Vukasinovic, who was celebrating with the likely head of the Montengrin state in the Montenegro Hotel, during a private conversation Bulatovic promised that "there will be changes in the Montenegrin media and that Serbia and Montenegro will

stop financing BORBA." People in the Montenegrin daily POBJEDA did not have to wait long. The replacement of journalists has already started.

Therefore, Montenegrin journalists who do not feel entirely safe, who feel that help from the police is even less forthcoming, will address via the international press center the European public and appeal for protection.

However, it is not only journalists that are under threat... The victorious mood of the supporters of the League of Communists can easily be vented on some other people who do not hold the same political views or are neutral unless people sober up soon. So, for instance, in Danilovgrad, the supporters of the League of Communists are loudly singing "Oh, Ivan Brajovic (vice president of the republican assembly), you are a Montenegrin Brankovic [Vuk Brankovic, thought to have betrayed Serbs in the Battle of Kosovo in the 14th century]." In the same town, workers threatened their director, Cedo Djurovic, with lynching. In this town, the victory of the League of Communists is celebrated with dynamite.

So, even before they warmed their victorious chairs, the victors of the first free elections started their "mad revenge dance." If this continues, nobody will benefit from the first multiparty elections which have been eagerly awaited for years.

'Final Results' of Montenegrin Elections

LD2412224890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2129 GMT 24 Dec 90

[Excerpts] Titograd, 24 Dec (TANJUG)—The Montenegro Republican Electoral Commission announced this evening the final results of the second round of voting for the president and two members of the Montenegrin Presidency. The new Montenegrin president and the first president to be elected multiparty, democratic elections is Momir Bulatovic, League of Communist President. He received 204,038 votes, or just above 76 percent of the ballots cast. His rival, Ljubisa Stankovic from the Alliance of Reformist Forces for Montenegro, received 57,396—21.4 percent of the ballots cast. [passage omitted]

In the second round of voting, 65.86 percent of the electorate cast their votes, which was hailed as a considerable success by the Republican Electoral Commission. So, the first multiparty elections in Montenegro are practically brought to a successful close. The elections have to be repeated in just one electoral unit in Bar, with nearly 2,000 registered voters. Only then can the results be verified. In any case, all conditions are met for the Presidency and the Assembly, in which communists have 83 out of 125 seats, to be constituted at the assembly session scheduled for 27 December. since the communists have such an overwhelming majority, they have the right to form a government.

New Presidency Members

LD2512011190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2233 GMT 24 Dec 90

[Text] Titograd, December 24 (TANJUG)—Momir Bulatovic, the candidate of the League of Communists of Montenegro, was elected president at the first post-war multi-party elections in the republic.

According to the final election results announced on Monday night, Bulatovic won 76 percent of the votes in the second round of elections on Sunday over his rival Ljubisa Stankovic, the candidate of the Alliance of Reformist Forces.

Two members of the Montenegrin Presidency were also elected in the second round. They are Hazbo Nuhanovic, candidate of the League of Communists and Slobodan Vujacic, independent candidate.

In the first round of elections, Svetozar Markovic and Milica Pejanovic-Djurisic, both candidates of the League of Communists, were elected to the Montenegrin Presidency.

The republican election commission announced that around 66 percent of the voters went to the polls in the secnd round of elections.

The new Montenegrin parliament and presidency will be constituted on December 27. The League of Communists won 83 of the 125 seats in parliament, and can thus independently form a government.

New President Thanks Supporters

LD2512225590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1629 GMT25 Dec 90

[Text] Titograd, 25 Dec (TANJUG)—"We called on voters to have confidence in us, and they did so, thanks to our election slogan "We know how." Now we have to prove it. I personally do not doubt it at all. I am certain that we will manage to prove it, through our work and behavior, to the opposition and to all other citizens who do not share our political convictions.

This was stated by Momir Bulatovic, the newly-elected Montenegrin Presidency president, to Montenegrin radio, following the end of the multiparty elections in this Republic, in which the League of Communists scored a landslide victory. Stressing that he is honestly happy with the trust that citizens have in the League of Communists, Bulatovic remarked that in this connection it is not only narrow party affiliation and interests that mattered. It is a certain indication of the readiness of a great number of citizens to speed up and complete the democratic changes started back in January of last year.

The Montenegrin League of Communists is a party of general well being [partija opsteg dobra], Bulatovic stressed, adding that the party's policy has been and remains a policy of reason and reality, a policy for the well being of this people and its state. This is how the

League of Communists is going to behave in Montenegro and Yugoslavia, Bulatovic emphasized.

He also thanked all voters who supported the League of Communists and its candidates and entrusted them with a mandate to use the instruments and levers of power under conditions of parliamentary democracy.

"People honor promises. In politics, the word is the basic instrument, and on the basis of a publicity stated stance confidence is won or lost," Bulatovic said. "We face huge obligations, but we have a good number of expert, knowledgeable, and industrious people who are ready to contribute to the materialization of our election program."

Momir Bulatovic recalled that the Montenegrin League of Communists did not give any spectacular promises, nor did it declare that it would resolve long-standing problems overnight. "We formed our stands according to the real economic and social trends in Montenegro, pointing at weaknesses within ourselves, but also at those surrounding us," Momir Bulatovic concluded.

Tudjman Meets With Opposition Leaders

AU2312152190 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 17 Dec 90 pp 1,2

[Gordana Grgas report: "Firm Resistance to Adventurism"]

[Excerpts] Zagreb—Although the one and a half hour conversation between Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, and representatives of seven Croatian opposition parties held on Sunday was polemical, it can nevertheless be assessed as very useful. There are at least two reasons for that: First, talks between the authorities and the opposition is a good base for bringing Croatian political forces closer together, and second, the "crossing of swords" informs the public about the stands of the relevant political parties on the public scene. The most important thing in all this is that the authorities and the opposition hold identical views on the majority of questions concerning the defense of sovereignty and democracy.

Dissatisfied Opposition

It is clear from the talks—which were called for by the Croatian Social Liberal Party, the Party of Democratic Changes, the Croatian Peasant Party, the Socialist Party of Croatia, the Social Democratic Party of Croatia, the Croatian Christian Democratic Party, and the Croatian People's Party—that the authorities and the opposition hold identical views on the majority of essential questions concerning the defense of sovereignty and democracy. But the already known dissatisfaction remains: the opposition parties complain that they are not taken seriously. The president of Croatia claims that the opposition should blame itself for that.

At the start of the talk Drazen Budisa, president of the Croatian Social Liberal Party, said that the opposition is concerned about and confused by the threats of a military intervention, that it worries about Croatia's future, and that it is not informed about what is really happening, while the "Croatian people expects us to act responsibly and be united." Therefore, Budisa said, the opposition parties expect Tudjman to brief them and explain the political-security situation so that they know how to react.

Criticism Rejected

Tudjman agreed that the circumstances are indeed complicated and that the conversation with the opposition is necessary, but said that the opposition's criticisms concerning a lack of information was unjustified. The opposition is involved in public and political life, it is represented in the assembly, and he himself would hold more consultations with other parties "if the opposition parties were more serious in what they were doing." Many are behaving unreasonably, he said, including some people in the ruling party, when the times are too serious for political amateurism and exhibitionism.

Danger Removed

"Circumstances have not changed since last summer. The communist-dogmatic, unitarian, and great Serbian hegemonistic forces continue to operate. This has only recently peaked but nothing new has happened. The Croatian leadership reacted to the renewal of the communist party, the threat of a military coup; we removed the danger of the military intervention which arose following the interview of Veljko Kadijevic, that is, the danger of the SFRY Presidency giving the Army a free hand, and made a decision to change the constitution.

"Speeded up moves and nervous attempts are currently being made to overthrow democracy in Croatia. Some unreasonable behavior also exists on the political scene in Croatia," Dr. Tudjman said, not wanting to elaborate on this. "From what I said you should be able to draw conclusions about what is happening yourself," Tudjman told those present. [passage omitted]

The tensions that were felt at the meeting were eliminated by Dr. Zdravko Tomac from the Party of Democratic Changes who concluded that the talk was not moving in the right direction and that everybody should therefore show that "we are jointly searching for prudent and realistic solutions, that we are aware of our historic responsibility and the importance of the Constitution as the necessary consensus." The suggestion was silently accepted, and Dr. Tudjman continued to talk about the political-security situation, but did not present any more new information, something the representatives of the opposition parties had hoped for.

Against Military Intervention With Reason

Tudjman explained that by conducting a sensible policy and holding talks with representatives of other Yugoslav

republics, the leadership of Croatia succeeded in preventing the call for the military intervention from being pushed through in the SFRY Presidency, despite the fact that the main reason mentioned in the request for intervention was Croatia, and less so Slovenia and Kosovo. He stressed that the leadership will resolutely resist every adventurism and aggression, and, if need be, will ask the people to defend the sovereignty of the republic. Slaven Letica, President Tudjman's adviser, added that the situation in Croatia is today more favorable than before and that the most important thing at present is to avoid politicking in the discussions about the Constitution. The "act of adoption should be an act of citizens' consensus on the fundamental political values of Croatia." [passage omitted]

Croatia Denies Report on Protectionist Measures

AU2412123790 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 18 Dec 90 p 5

[Unattributed report: "TANJUG Disinformation"]

[Text] On 16 December 1990, the VJESNIK newspaper carried an untrue report by the news agency TANJUG (which was also carried on Croatian Television and in part of the press) that said: "By special order of Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, the republican government is empowered as of 13 December to pass temporary measures to protect Croatia's economic interests. This order replaces an earlier decision by the Croatian Assembly at its 7 December session. The earlier decision supported the proposal for passing a law to this effect, but it was not formally adopted by all three chambers in its original form due to lack of a quorum." It is a crude mistruth to say that the President of the Republic would issue an "order to replace an earlier decision of the Assembly which did not have a quorum and that therefore the proposal for passing the law was not formally adopted."

In a constitutional procedure also envisaged by the rules of procedure, the Assembly passed a law on the powers of the government of the Republic of Croatia to pass temporary measures to protect the economic interests of the republic and this law was promulgated, in conformity with Article 389 of the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia, by Dr. Franjo Tudjman with his order. The untrue report by TANJUG wrongly informed the public that the President of the Republic had issued an order "to replace" a decision by the Assembly and thus overstepped his constitutional powers, and it was also falsely reported that the Assembly had not passed the law. This crude disinformation also served as the basis for an article in VJESNIK of 17 December entitled "Extorted Response" which inexactly cites that "instead of the Assembly, the President of the Republic had to empower the government though a special order to respond appropriately to Serbia's barely comprehensible protectionist measures... But the Assembly, which had been promptly informed of the unprecedented Serbian protectionism, recently reacted—to the astonishment and concern of Croatian businessmen—by holding sessions until it no longer had a quorum for decisions to be valid."

The serious disinformation by TANJUG and the inaccuracies in part of the press which were based on it insult the standing of the President of the Republic and the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia, it is said in the denial by the Presidency of the Assembly, which was signed by V. Seks, vice president of the Assembly.

Jovic Greets New Bosnia-Hercegovina President

LD2112193590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1546 GMT 21 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Dec (TANJUG)—Dr. Borisav Jovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, has sent congratulations to Alija Izetbegovic on his election as president of the Presidency of Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

"I congratulate you on your election as president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, with the wish that you carry out this responsible function successfully in the interests of all the nations and nationalities of Bosnia- Hercegovina and of the SFRY," Borisav Jovic's telegram says.

Bosnian Alliance Protests New Authorities

LD2412140590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1031 GMT 24 Dec 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 24 Dec (TANJUG)—The Alliance of Reformist Forces of Yugoslavia [Savez Reformskih Snaga Jugoslavije (SRSJ)] for Bosnia-Hercegovina expresses its public disapproval of the controversial behavior of the new republican authorities vis-a-vis concrete events in other parts of the country because in this way the political integrity of Bosnia-Hercegovina is destroyed. The coalition bloc of national parties intimated, before and after the election victory, mutual agreement on the formulation of a unified policy, but already in the first three days of its mandate this orientation has twice been brought into question. This is stated in a statement of the presidium of the SRSJ for Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The first disagreement in the assembly over the election of the general secretary of the assembly was, at least at first sight, of a purely procedural nature, the statement said. However, the departure of the leaders of two national parties, in their capacity as a delegation of our republic, to the formal proclamation of the new constitution of Croatia in Zagreb, and the simultaneous support the leaders of the world national party sent regarding the declaration of the autonomy of the parts of this republic in which predominantly Serbian people live, has the character of a serious political disagreement. From the moment of its taking authority, this can, in fact, no longer be treated as interparty differences but as a major crack in the political standpoint of Bosnia-Hercegovina in interrepublican relations.

In view of the fact that this is a matter of so-called national parties, this contradictory behavior of the new authorities could also have serious consequences for interethnic relations in the republic.

Monetary Losses From Gulf Crisis Outlined

LD2112153290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1331 GMT 21 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, December 21 (TANJUG) - The Yugoslav firms which worked on projects in Iraq expect the Federal Government to pay them 210 million dollars (in dinars) as compensation for a part of the outstanding claims, which fell due as a result of the gulf crisis. The Yugoslav parliament is to adopt the government proposal on a law to secure the funds.

Yugoslav firms have suffered direct losses of around 380 million dollars due to the gulf crisis. This is only a part of the outstanding claims, and the difference will be paid by Yugoslav republics, provinces, banks and enterprises themselves.

The Yugoslav Government has proposed the setting up of a solidarity fund next year and that funds from social programs be used for this purpose.

The United Nations Security Council Committee for Sanctions Against Iraq has placed Yugoslavia on the list of countries which should receive compensation from international sources for damages suffered due to the Gulf crisis. Yugoslavia demands around three billion dollars in compensation from the international community.

Loncar Receives PLO's Mahmud 'Abbas

AU2012224590 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 16 Dec 90 p 12

[TANJUG report: "Talks Between Loncar—Mazin"]

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Dec—Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, will soon continue the peace mission that was assigned to Yugoslavia, as a chairman of the Nonaligned Movement, by the movement. The aim of the mission is to find a peaceful solution to the gulf crisis. Loncar is also expected to visit Baghdad.

This mission was discussed in Belgrade tonight by Budimir Loncar and a member of the PLO Executive Committee Mahmud 'Abbas, better known as Abu Mazin. The PLO representative arrived in Belgrade today at the invitation of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs which is conducting regular consultations with all parties involved in the Gulf crisis.

The crisis in the gulf was the focal point of the talks between Loncar and Mazin. The Palestinian side expressed great satisfaction with Yugoslavia's peace mission in the Middle East, particularly in the gulf. Mazin stressed that the PLO is very interested in the continuation of the peace mission which the head of the Yugoslav delegation began a month ago when he visited Iran, the United Arab Emirates, Syria, and Jordan, but not Iraq.

During his visit to Belgrade, Abu Mazin will also be received by Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council.